



Cover Illustration:

Still Life with Parrots (no. 84) by **Jan Davidsz. de Heem** was chosen for the catalogue cover since the artist worked in both the Flemish and Dutch areas of the Netherlands, and the painting so perfectly expresses the enthusiastic, expansive optimism of the northern Baroque, with exotic birds, shells, food and precious objects from around the world, realistically and sensuously painted. It also makes visual the essence of John Ringling's love for life, art and the good things of this earth.

Catalogue of
The Flemish and Dutch Paintings
1400-1900

The John and Mable Ringling
Museum of Art

Franklin W. Robinson
and
William H. Wilson
with contributions by
Larry Silver

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The John and Mable Ringling
Museum of Art
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FOREWORD



The Flemish-Dutch catalogue of The Ringling Museum of Art is the second in a projected series that will publish the entire collection of over 1,000 paintings. The catalogue appears during our fiftieth anniversary year and is appropriately dedicated to John and Mable Ringling. Famous in his day as a circus entrepreneur, with a multitude of business interests including the development of Sarasota, Ringling's most enduring legacy, however, was the donation to the people of Florida and the nation his magnificent art collection, housed in one of the world's most unique and beautiful museums.

While the Flemish-Dutch collection numbers a little more than half the Italian paintings, the quality is excellent with significant works by Campin, van Dyck and Rubens, including the monumental cartoons for *The Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry series. The Dutch collection is equally impressive, reflecting the northern love for landscape, portraiture and still-life, containing masterpieces by Rembrandt, Hals, Steen and others. The Flemish-Dutch catalogue, along with the already published Italian catalogue, will continue to reaffirm the international significance of the Ringling collection to museums and scholars throughout the world.

Our deep appreciation to Franklin W. Robinson, Larry Silver and William H. Wilson, whose scholarly team effort made the catalogue a successful reality. The Ringling Museum of Art also gratefully acknowledges the support of The National Endowment for the Arts, Mr. and Mrs. A. Werk Cook, Mrs. William C. Cox and Mr. and Mrs. Irving G. Snyder for financial assistance in the publication of our catalogue.

Richard S. Carroll, *Director*

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present catalogue is the result of team effort among three scholars, Franklin W. Robinson, Director, The Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art; Larry Silver, Associate Professor of Art History, Northwestern University and William H. Wilson, Curator of Collections, The Ringling Museum of Art. Frank Robinson has written most of the Dutch entries, a number of the Flemish entries and the highly informative introduction. Typically, Frank spent many hours with the collection carefully examining each painting. His catalogue entries, especially where attribution is an issue, are the result of intimate knowledge of paint surfaces and the condition of each work, combined with a connoisseur's eye and scholarly expertise. Larry Silver has been responsible for writing on our early Netherlandish paintings, a small but important group of works that present thorny problems of attribution. Larry has bravely united artists with works previously left homeless and given to "schools"—in this controversial endeavor he has succeeded admirably. As for myself, I have undertaken the task of preparing entries on a number of the Flemish paintings, and a few of the Dutch. The major Rubens paintings have been a pleasure to prepare for publication since generations of Rubens scholars have smoothed the way. Other works attributed to Rubens have been more difficult to sort out. As editor of the catalogue, I decided from the beginning that it would be impossible to reconcile the differences in style and approach that the three collaborators brought to the catalogue. I apologize in advance if at times the seams become obvious or our scholarly personalities are intrusive.

Clearly, our first debt of gratitude is to John Ringling for amassing a coherent collection of Flemish and Dutch paintings. Unfortunately he kept very few records concerning provenance, bibliography or purchase price, possibly because he was afraid of the new income tax system that was beginning to hamper the rough and tumble growth of American business (Ringling liked to deal in cash). I also believe that Ringling expected to spend considerable time refining and cataloging the collection after it was installed in the new museum in 1929. Lack of funds, personal problems and ultimately his death in 1936, left the collection virtually without records and scholarly information.

After the Ringling Estate was settled in 1946 after years of litigation and the museum organized in 1948, successive generations of directors, curators, registrars and librarians have accumulated extensive files on the collection. Directors and curators A. Everett "Chick" Austin, Kenneth Donahue, Curtis Coley, Creighton Gilbert, Robert Parks, Karl

Nickel, Peter Tomory and Kent Sobotik have all contributed notes and information for the curatorial files used in the preparation of the catalogue. Distinguished scholars whose opinions and ideas have been utilized include Julius Held, Michael Jaffé, E. Haverkamp-Begemann, Horst Gerson, Wolfgang Stechow, J.Q. van Regteren Altena, Seymour Slive and others. The catalogue of 460 paintings in the Ringling bequest published in 1948 by William Suida, has been particularly useful for us and especially durable. It is remarkable how many of Suida's attributions have withstood the test of time.

Members of the present Ringling Museum staff deserve special thanks for their assistance and cooperation, especially during a period of intense growth and activity at the museum. Our Registrar, Elizabeth Telford and Curatorial Secretary Joyce Schindell have coordinated records, correspondence and the typescript. Their efficiency and good humor were essential to the success of the project. Part-time curatorial volunteers David Butler and Jerry Hays were helpful in the early stages of organizing the research material. My appreciation also to Wayne Manley for numerous photographic chores including many new brilliant color transparencies and the difficult task of photographing signatures. Tony Falcone is responsible for the handsome design and layout of the catalogue. I am especially grateful to Valentine Schmidt, The Ringling Museum of Art Librarian, for her valuable counsel and assistance.

The catalogue was fortunate in having the full support and encouragement of The Ringling Museum of Art Board of Trustees, our Director Richard S. Carroll and the Executive Director of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art Foundation, Mary Lou Carroll.

William H. Wilson, *Curator of Collections*

JOHN RINGLING AND THE FLEMISH-DUTCH COLLECTION

It was not money alone that enabled John Ringling to amass the most important collection of Baroque art in America. The clues to his success in life, as a circus entrepreneur, multi-faceted businessman and connoisseur of art, lie in the fact that aside from keen intelligence, and driving ambition, he was passionately in love with life and people. He was particularly fond of Baroque art because he felt that "... it presents man in his boldest, bravest and most noble aspects." John Ringling also had the jungle instincts of the predators that are such a dangerous attraction of the center ring. His dapper image and urbane facade, disguised a determined hunter of famous circus acts, profitable business ventures and masterpieces of art. From the moment he decided that the most enduring way to ensure his fame was through the acquisition of art and the construction of a museum, Ringling was on the prowl for important acquisitions. The 625 paintings and thousands of pieces of sculpture and decorative art that he left at his death in 1936, were amassed in the amazingly brief period of five years, from 1925 to 1930, the year when the Great Depression began to affect his business interests, problems with the circus struck and the death of Mable profoundly saddened his personal life. Unlike many other multimillionaire collectors of his day, Ringling did not trust his acquisitions solely to the advice of others, but made most of his own decisions armed with knowledge acquired from books, journals and constant trips to the auction sales rooms and dealers galleries. Ringling had a prodigious memory that served him well in coping with the incredibly complex day-to-day logistics of the circus and other business enterprises and also in retaining images of paintings he had seen, auction prices and other myriad details. He often amazed dealers by quoting what they had paid for a work at auction, often to their embarrassment since they had marked up the price far beyond what they had paid at auction. Ringling did, however, consult scholars, museum officials and dealers and was especially close to Julius Böhler, the Munich dealer who accompanied him to sales and dealer's galleries in New York, London, Germany and Italy. Böhler was to act as unofficial "curator" during the installation of the collection at the museum in 1929. Ringling

preferred to buy in New York during the winter and London and Europe during the summer, during which time he combined the hunt for new circus acts with the acquisition of art. Ringling favored The American Art Association auctioneers in New York (later Parke-Bernet) where he made numerous purchases and Christie's in London. With the exception of a few popular and well-known artists such as Rembrandt and Velasquez, Baroque art was out of fashion during the 20's and 30's, scholarship was weak or non-existent and prices were very low. Some of the masterpieces in the Ringling collection were bought for under \$500.

Ringling purchased his first two paintings in the early fall of 1925. Both were by Italian artists—Veronese and Luini. His first northern acquisition came a few months later during the winter of 1925, with the purchase of Jan Steen's satiric travesty *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (no. 120). Ringling's most spectacular purchase of northern art came in the spring of 1926 when he discovered that the four enormous Rubens cartoons for the tapestry series *The Triumph of the Eucharist* (nos. 35-38) had gone unsold at the Duke of Westminster Sale a year earlier. With typical foresight, he realized that the four paintings from Grosvenor House would be unique in America and add stature to his projected museum. He immediately made plans for a special room to be built with heavy, carved, built-in frames, and doorways flanked by the twisting "Solomonic" columns similar to those used by Rubens in the paintings. The £20,000 he paid for the tapestry cartoons was considered high at the time. In 1926, he bought Rubens' *Head of a Monk in Genoa* (no. 42) and in the spring of 1927 purchased Rubens' so-called *Pausias and Glycera* (retitled here *A Scholar Inspired by Nature* no. 40), again from The Westminster Collection. Later in the winter of 1927 Rubens' *Departure of Lot from Sodom* was added to the collection (no. 41). Ringling's passion for Rubens was unusual for his time, especially among American collectors, many of whom considered the Flemish artist bombastic and "in bad taste." In a letter to Böhler, the great connoisseur and museum director, Wilhelm von Bode, congratulated Ringling on not having the prejudice of other Americans against Rubens. In commenting on the newly purchased Rubens' *Danae and the Shower of Gold* (now given to the Rubens Studio, no. 43), Bode was pleased to note that Ringling did not have the prudish and silly objections of most Americans against the representations of nude figures in art. He was also glad that Ringling enjoyed and bought large pictures.

Ringling at one time owned four paintings attributed to Rembrandt, one purchased in 1927 and three others in 1929—toward the end of his collecting career. Two remain in the collection, the late, magisterial *Portrait of a Woman* (no. 115) and *The Lamentation* (no. 116), now catalogued as one of the largest and most important works by the Rembrandt School in America and *Evangelist Writing* (Bredius no. 619) which he purchased for \$78,000 at the Stillman sale at the American Art Association Auctioneers, New York, February 3, 1927 (no. 26) and later sold for \$80,000 (according to Böhler) when Ringling needed money sometime between 1927 and his death in 1936. The painting is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, minus several layers of over-paint including a beard. The other "Rembrandt" that was later sold came from the Earl of Yarborough sale for a low price and was an old copy of a well-known Rembrandt once in the H.O. Havemeyer Collection, present location unknown. It is clear that Ringling deeply appreciated Rembrandt. He could have owned a well-documented, fully accepted Rembrandt religious painting, but opted instead to

buy *The Lamentation* which has been the focus of scholarly controversy since it was purchased. Edward Forbes, who was the director of the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard, and friendly with Ringling, wrote that "As a matter of fact, Mr. Ringling took a real and keen interest in some of the great artists, and spent long hours of study on their artistic life and works. I remember that, when he showed me his unfinished museum in 1929 (the year three Rembrandts were bought), he talked with knowledge and appreciation of Rembrandt in his various periods of artistic creation" (letter from Forbes to the diplomat and politician Lloyd Griscom). At around the same time, Ringling named one of his holding companies "The Rembrandt Corporation."

In 1927 Ringling had acquired his first great Dutch masterpiece, Frans Hals' *Portrait of Pieter Olycan* for around £20,000, from an English private collection. When Lord Duveen, the great English art dealer saw the painting in New York, he immediately offered Ringling \$300,000 cash for the work, three times what he paid for it. Such an offer must have been a boost for Ringling's ego, knowing he discovered a major painting that the most successful art dealer in the world wanted to buy from him. Ringling later bought a number of important, large, English eighteenth century portraits from Duveen including the life-sized *Equestrian Portrait of General Honywood* by Gainsborough. Duveen also acted as the agent in the sale to Ringling of a large portion of the Gavet Collection of paintings, sculpture, watches and liturgical objects from Mrs. O.H.P. Belmont, whose father, Cornelis Vanderbilt had purchased the collection in Paris. *The Virgin and Child in an Apse*, after Robert Campin (no. 9) and the Circle of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Adoration of the Magi Triptych* (no. 1) were among the treasures of northern painting from the collection, now at the Ringling Museum. The Gavet-Belmont purchase was the only time Ringling bought a large group of objects en bloc. Unlike a number of other millionaire collectors from his generation such as J.P. Morgan and William Randolph Hearst, Ringling preferred the excitement of tracking down each work, one by one. This did not stop him, however, from buying 20 to 30 paintings at a single auction, in one afternoon.

In the heat and excitement of collecting, especially during such a short period of time, John Ringling was probably unaware that he had built a remarkably coherent collection of over 100 Flemish and Dutch paintings. The remaining 25 or so were later acquisitions, the most notable of which are: Anonymous Antwerp Master, *Adoration of the Magi* (no. 2, gift of Karl Bickel); Rubens, *Portrait of the Archduke Ferdinand* (no. 34); Jan Brueghel I, *View on the River Scheldt Near Antwerp* (no. 6, gift of Jacob Polak); van Dyck, *Head of a Young Man* (no. 725, gift of Jacob Polak, now attributed to Petrus van Mol); van Aelst, *Still-Life with Dead Game* (no. 58); Pynacker, *Landscape with Hunters* (no. 113); van Baden, *Interior of the Amsterdam Theatre* (no. 61) and van Kuijl, *Narcissus* (no. 93). Ringling not only purchased masterpieces by well-known masters of the seventeenth century but was also able to survey with some strength the early Netherlandish schools of the 15th and 16th centuries that preceded the Baroque and provided its foundations. The eighteenth and nineteenth century Dutch and Flemish paintings provide an excellent coda to the collection, showing the continuation of the Netherlandish realist tradition into our own century.

INTRODUCTION

"All the birds have begun
their nests but you and me;
what are we waiting for now?"
Dutch - Anonymous, 11th Century

The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art is the great museum of the baroque in the United States. The extraordinary riches of the Italian collection have already been fully published (Peter Tomory, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings Before 1800*, 1976), and the Museum possesses remarkable works from Germany, England, France, and Spain. The Ringling Museum is, however, unique in this country in the range and depth of its holdings of northern European paintings; not all of these works are by any means baroque, that is, from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, but the objects from that period form the focus and center of gravity for this part of the collection.

The early Netherlandish paintings, from the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, ably discussed by Larry Silver, show the beginnings of the art of the Low Countries, particularly in an exquisite *Virgin and Child* after Robert Campin (no. 9), a monumental *Descent from the Cross* by Adriaen Isenbrant (no. 27), a mysterious and evocative portrait by Jan Mostaert (no. 104), and a series of altarpieces that show northern Mannerism at its most energetic (nos. 1, 2, 10).

The Dutch and Flemish works from the seventeenth century here, however, have an emotional, almost physical power and a spiritual depth that embody the essence of baroque Europe more fully than in any other museum in this country. Erwin Panofsky has called the baroque a second, more human and secular Renaissance, and other writers have referred to "the crisis of the seventeenth century," a crisis that is clearest in the history and culture of the Low Countries. Flanders, what is now Belgium, and the Netherlands seem to be two sides of the same coin: the luxuriant climax of this outpost of an autocratic, Roman Catholic, southern empire, on the one hand, and, on the other, the flowering, however brief, of a more Protestant, mercantile, middle class, urban republic to the north. The two areas are a microcosm of the future. In his entries in this catalogue, William H. Wilson has expertly discussed the extraordinary importance of the paintings by Peter Paul Rubens and his school in this museum; the four cartoons from the series *The Triumph of the Holy Sacrament*, at one and the same time represent the High Baroque at its most monumental and the genius of Rubens at its most profoundly Christian (nos. 35-38). The energy and intensity of this master dominated and inspired Flemish painting throughout the seventeenth century, an impact that can be seen in the Ringling Museum's superb *St. Andrew* by Anthony van Dyck (no. 14), the overflowing *Still-life with a Dead Swan* from the studio of Frans Snyder (no. 44), and the *Calydonian Hunt* by Jan Fyt (no. 25).

The fates of the Flemish and Dutch cultures have always been interwoven; before the middle of the sixteenth century, the prominence and prosperity of the southern part of the Low Countries derived from geography, most importantly, its proximity to more southern centers of power, and this same proximity determined that it would remain under Spanish domination after the war of rebellion had begun. To a great degree, Dutch prosperity was at the expense of the Flemish economy and society, as the Spanish state became virtually bankrupt, American silver found its way into Dutch, rather than Spanish coffers, Antwerp's access to the sea was put to an end, and a flood of immigrants, tens of thousands of them, left Antwerp and the south for Amsterdam and other northern cities. Frans Hals was one of these, and he brought with him to Haarlem the High Baroque. The exchange between north and south was continuous: the two

most important cycles of architectural decoration in the Netherlands, in the Amsterdam city hall and in the Orange family's palace, the Huis ten Bosch, were largely in the hands of Flemish artists, but David Teniers, so well represented in the Ringling Museum, was most deeply influenced by Adriaen Brouwer, a pupil of Hals (nos. 45-49).

The major genres of Dutch baroque art are well represented in the Ringling collection: the brilliant portrait of Olycan by Hals (no. 83), the imposing figure of a woman in Renaissance or "medieval" dress by Rembrandt (no. 115), and a number of other portraits, several done by Rembrandt's students Nicolaes Maes (nos. 98, 99) and Paulus Lesire (no. 94); religious subjects, by an anonymous but gifted follower of Rembrandt (no. 116), and by two artists better known for their representations of peasants and village life, Karel Dujardin (no. 69) and Jan Steen (no. 120), the luxuriant still-lives of Willem van Aelst (no. 58) and the Dutch-Flemish artist Jan de Heem (no. 84); the ubiquitous views of buildings and cityscapes, by Hendrik van Vliet (no. 123), Hans van Baden (no. 61), Klaes Molenaer (no. 102) and Jan ten Compe (no. 63); and the myth of Italy that seduced both Dutch writers (such as Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft in his popular play on *Granida*) and Dutch painters, seen here in the unusually beautiful canvases by Adam Pynacker (no. 113) and Johannes Lingelbach (no. 95), Bernhardt Keil (no. 91) and Gysbert van Kuijl (no. 93). The Ringling Museum is also one of the few institutions outside the Netherlands where eighteenth century Dutch painting can be seen on a large scale; the ceiling piece of Jacob de Wit (no. 126) and the large decorative ensemble by Dionys van Nijmegen (no. 108) clearly show the later domination of Dutch culture by the French. Finally, the turning back of nineteenth century Dutch and Belgian artists to their seventeenth century roots is clearly illustrated by several paintings in the Museum, most notably a celebrated composition by Josef Israels, dated 1852, showing an episode from the early history of the Republic in 1619 (no. 89).

So many of these works, and most dramatically those by the seventeenth century Dutch artists, are imbued by a sense of the everyday world, the daily, the commonplace, the unimportant: a kitchen maid drinking soup (no. 101), a man grinding tools in a courtyard (no. 65), two cows next to a tree (no. 112). Often these scenes would be endowed with religious or moralizing overtones, but these are subordinated to the artist's vision of the familiar and recognizable, the real. In this vision, quiet though it is, lies the real crisis, the real revolution of the seventeenth century.

Since the core of northern paintings in the Ringling Museum is Dutch baroque, and since the core of these works is their commitment to a vision of everyday life, it is important to ask how this commitment came to be characteristic of this time and this place. There are, of course, many causes; partly, this realism arose from almost technical, non-stylistic peculiarities of the arts of the seventeenth century. The profusion of prints was a major factor, not only because they were inexpensive and available to a very wide public, but also because they represented an astonishing array of subjects, the prizes in lotteries, the bursting of a dam, the beaching of a whale, an iceberg in a canal at Delft, and every major political event from every partisan point of view. With the availability of paper, too, came an outpouring of drawings, again for a great many patrons representing a great many subjects, from flowers to shells to birds to fish to buildings. Numerous patrons meant many opportunities but also competition for artists; many became specialists, "experts" on images of asparagus or even a particular event,

like the Delft powder explosion of 1654. Works of art were used as functional objects, to document a marriage, as a signboard or visiting card, or as decoration on a sleigh or in a doll's house, in sales catalogues of tulips, or as visual instruction manuals on the use of muskets for recruits. Jan van der Heyden was both an artist and an engineer, and his gift as a painter of cityscapes was used to popularize his invention of the fire hose and other means of fighting fires. There is even a remarkable painting representing just the piles of excise taxes, legal writs, wills, and other documents of the Amsterdam city treasury. A major factor is the inexplicable phenomenon—and impact—of a genius; Rembrandt is quintessentially Dutch, for he is interested in recording literally everything he sees, executed criminals, peasants, buildings, Jews, Orientals, Blacks, people making love, shells.

The most important causes of this vision of the everyday and the real, however, must be sought in the society at large. Political, economic, and social factors were overriding: the Dutch were immensely prosperous, as their neighbors to the south went into decline, and they were free from the direct devastation of the wars that were endemic to the seventeenth century, and yet had access to the sea and trade routes, establishing commercial outposts at strategic points throughout the world. Most importantly, the artist's major patrons were not the church or the nobility, but the mercantile middle class, who so often wanted pictures of their possessions and of themselves. Many patrons meant many subjects for paintings, usually familiar and recognizable, and not esoteric allegories or the like, in spite of the emblematic references that have been deciphered in them.

A realist tradition existed in Netherlandish religious thought and practice; for example, the Brethren of the Common Life in the fourteenth and fifteenth century emphasized such practical matters as education and the establishment of schools and student homes and the copying (and, later, printing) of books, attitudes which found an echo in the Dutch humanists, especially Erasmus. Protestantism itself fostered a vision of Jewish and Christian actors not as symbolic parallels, as in the medieval *Biblia Pauperum*, but rather as historical figures in a sequential story, in an historical context. The very openness of Dutch society to a remarkable array of sects, from Polish Socinians to English Puritans to Sephardic Jews, contributed to an openness to a variety of subjects and points of view. The greatest Dutch philosopher, Baruch de Spinoza, believed that the physical and spiritual world were coextensive and they could be best apprehended in a single thing, a real object. Descartes, whose *Discourse on Method* attempted to discover what was verifiable, what was real, lived in Amsterdam, and his Dutch follower Geulincx believed the physical and spiritual worlds were separate but completely coordinated, like two watches side by side, set to the same time. The tolerance of different religions and philosophies was exemplified by the writings of the humanists Erasmus and Dirk Coornhert and the publication of the Biblical criticism of Richard Simon and John Locke's essay on tolerance, an attitude matched in the scientific field. Several well-known artists were also prominent scientists, such as the entomologists Johannes Goedaert and Maria Sibylla Merian. Whether or not there were other connections between them, both Jan Vermeer and Anthonie van Leeuwenhoek, the perfecter of the microscope, lived in Delft and both used lenses in their work (and Spinoza ground lenses for a living). Observation was basic to the new sciences. Artistic realism and scientific documentation, in paintings, drawings or book illustrations, were inextricable.

The roots of Dutch realism can be clearly seen in Dutch literature, for example, in the important, and native, secular dramas of the fifteenth century; Pieter van Diest's popular *Elckerlyc*, Everyman, from about 1470, is profoundly tied to everyday life and everyday people. In the seventeenth century, as we will discuss below, much of the most important plays and prose dealt with the known, the familiar, even the local, that is, the history and culture of the Netherlands and indeed of Amsterdam itself. A sense of the homely and the everyday is evident even in the first extant sentence written in the Dutch language, used as an epigraph for this essay. The well-known Dutch fondness for images of the peasant and of poverty again had social causes; at least partly this interest derived from a fear and contempt of the peasant (there had been several peasant revolts in the fourteenth and fifteenth century) and was expressed in many satires and attacks on the peasants in both art and literature, for example, the *Kerelslied*, Song of the Churls, from the fourteenth century. At the same time, there was a genuine sympathy for the poor among the Dutch, and a real attempt at social reform by means of welfare programs, old people's homes, orphanages, homes for lepers and syphilitics, and prisons where trades were taught. This sympathy comes out in the work of such painters as Adriaen and Isaac van Ostade, Adriaen van de Venne, and Rembrandt. Even one of the commercial specialties of Dutch industry, printing, served to bring all of culture to a wider base, just as political power had been broadened to include not just a monarch but an entire class open to penetration from ambitious outsiders.

In a sense, the ultimate in Dutch realism in visual terms was their creation of the map of the world. The discovery, comprehension and representation of the world itself, begun in the middle sixteenth century and completed in its main outlines by 1650, was surely one of the great feats of human endeavor, involving innumerable voyages into uncharted seas, brilliant advances in geometry and trigonometric measurement, and painstaking compilations of data by printers and mapmakers. The Dutch, more than any other people, found our world and gave it its image; clearly they knew these world maps were extraordinary documents, for they became common decorations in affluent homes and appeared in numerous genre paintings of the time.

Perhaps the most important factor in the development of Dutch realism was the cluster of events, attitudes and phenomena associated with the concepts of community and identity. Such concepts are central, of course, to any nation coming into being, but the circumstances in the Dutch case was unusual, and unusually intense. The Netherlands is a small country; even today it is compared with the island of Manhattan. The population came to be crowded into cities because trade, not farming, was the occupation of the majority of the people. Because the land was swampy, below sea level and expensive to reclaim, it had to be thickly settled in order to be profitable. The Dutch fascination with cities is clear from their many paintings of cityscapes (the Ringling Museum possesses two views of the Haarlem city walls, nos. 63 and 102). The remarkable grid system of the streets of New York City derives largely from the first Dutch colonists who remembered the idealized, highly regular expansions of Amsterdam and Haarlem that had occurred earlier in the seventeenth century. At the same time that geography and urbanization forced an intense sense of community on the Dutch, this very sense was threatened by other social and geographic factors, namely, their position as a junction between the Germanic principalities, England,

Spanish Flanders, France and Burgundy, at times forcing them to defend themselves from two or even three of these forces at once. The enrichment of massive immigration from the south in the baroque era represented yet another clear threat to their community, so therefore they had to achieve a difficult balance between the need to preserve their own cultural and religious identity and at the same time the desire to absorb and use the talents of these and other gifted immigrants from many different cultures. In fact, to a great degree, the history of the Dutch from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century is a history of their struggle for an independent identity, political, economic, religious, linguistic, cultural, and artistic. The Union of Utrecht in 1579 formalized and symbolized this struggle, for, even as it created the structure to forge the seven provinces into a united Netherlands, the structure remained a loose federation.

The expressions of this community and identity are numerous; they range from the decoration of the Amsterdam City Hall, with its many examples of individual sacrifices on behalf of the community, to the most important literary achievements of the Dutch baroque, aside from the standardization of the language itself: Vondel's *Gysbrecht van Amstel*, on the founding of Amsterdam in the fourteenth century, Hooft's *Nederlandsche Historien*, and Bredero's *Spaanschen Brabander*, a comedy which deals with a southern immigrant and his troubles fitting into the life of Amsterdam. The sense of a society working together, or, to use an unpretentious and informal Dutch word, *gezelligheid*, is evident in such institutions as the Chambers of Rhetoric, the driving force in Dutch dramatic writing for over a century, whose productions were communal efforts where competitions and credit were won by the Chamber, not by individual writers. Above all, Amsterdam was the key, the dominant community; this was where Rembrandt and so many other artists—and Hooft, Bredero, and Vondel—lived. It was the political, economic, and cultural center of the Netherlands. Amsterdam was also the center of religious tolerance and of opposition to the conservative influence of the Orange family and the Counter-Remonstrant ministers. Just as Rembrandt portrayed the leading ministers, poets, doctors, and industrialists of his day, so Vondel too was *engagé*; his poem *Roskam* rails against the corruption of modern magistrates. Amsterdam was the home of the unique institution of Samuel Coster's Academy (and, later, Felix Merits), an open community of the intellectually curious, both old and young, in a variety of disciplines.

This sense of a tight, coherent community, still open to enrichment from outside sources, this wide sharing of common ideals, concepts, habits of thought, and experiences, was inextricable from an interest in the faithful visual representation of what was accessible and familiar to everyone; indeed, such realistic images were the very embodiment and proof of that community and identity. In the case of the Dutch, their hard-won self-image was expressed in a fascination with the here and now, a fascination that came out not only in innumerable representations of specific historical events and figures, but also in portraits, scientific illustrations, scenes from peasant and middle class life, still lifes, and other images of everyday life. All of these factors come together in the early seventeenth century to produce an outpouring of vitality and creativity, in a form unique in the history of European art. It is the results of this revolution that the present catalogue documents and which the Ringling Museum is able to present to its visitors.

NOTES TO THE CATALOGUE

All of the paintings in this catalogue are by Flemish or Dutch artists, with the exception of Bernhardt Keil (Monsu Bernardo), a Dane who worked with Rembrandt in Amsterdam and later lived in Italy. His *A Group of Four Peasants* (no. 91) has already been published by Peter Tomory in *The Italian Paintings Before 1800*, no. 134 as *Itinerant Musicians*. There seems to be equally convincing reasons to claim Keil as either "Dutch" or "Italian".

The catalogue is organized into two alphabetical sections: nos. 1-58 are Flemish artists, while nos. 59-126 are Dutch. All paintings are illustrated, 34 in color, the rest in black and white. Details and comparative material are published with the catalogue entry and bear the same number as the painting plus the addition of a lower case letter (e.g., 16 a).

The following 28 paintings have been cleaned and restored between 1977 and 1980: nos. 3, 7, 8, 12, 15, 19, 20, 21, 29, 30, 43, 46, 51, 52, 53, 62, 64, 69, 72, 74, 76, 80, 89, 92, 96, 111, 112 and 117.

We have attempted to make the form of the catalogue entries as simple as possible.

Each artist is identified with the place and date of birth and death.

Titles of paintings are preceded by the number they bear in the catalogue.

SN and a number after the title refers to the "State Number", each painting is assigned when it is acquired by the State of Florida.

Numbers 626 and higher were acquired after the Ringling Bequest.

Medium and support is followed by measurements first in inches, then in centimeters.

"J.R., 1936" indicates that the painting was acquired in 1936 as part of the Ringling Bequest. Museum purchases and donations are so indicated, followed with the date of acquisition.

Inscriptions: Include signatures, dates and other inscriptions either by the artist or later hands.

Provenance: Has been limited to direct ownership; dealers are indicated as "with".

Bibliography: Only major publications are included; instances where the painting has been illustrated but without commentary, usually do not appear. "Suida" followed by a number refers to William E. Suida, *A Catalogue of Paintings, Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, 1949*.

Exhibitions: Only major exhibitions are listed, generally those where a catalogue was published.

Catalogue entries bear initials:

Franklin W. Robinson	F.W.R.
William H. Wilson	W.H.W.
Larry Silver	L.S.

**Flemish Paintings
1400-1900**



Circle of **Pieter Coecke van Aelst**
Aelst, 1502 - Brussels, 1550

1. *Triptych* (SN 203)

Left Wing: *Christ Arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane*

Verso: *The Annunciate Mary*

Center: *The Adoration of the Magi*

Right Wing: *The Carrying of the Cross*

Verso: *The Angel of the Annunciation*

Oil on panel

wings, irregular shape, 36 x 9- $\frac{1}{4}$ (91.4 x 22.9 cm);

center, 36 x 22- $\frac{1}{4}$ (91.4 x 57.8 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Émile Gavet, Paris;

Mrs. Oliver H. Belmont, Newport, Rhode Island;

John Ringling

Bibliography: **Émile Molinier**,

Collection of Émile Gavet, Paris, 1889,

p. 193, no. 823;

Suida, no. 203, as Antwerp Mannerist, c. 1525

Exhibitions: None

1a. *The Annunciate Mary*
and *The Angel of the Annunciation*
versos of left and right wings



Choosing a favorite theme of Antwerp artists of the early sixteenth century—the Adoration of the Magi (cf. also the single panel in the Ringling collection, no. 2)—this small altarpiece offers a measure of religious painting in the second quarter of the sixteenth century in Antwerp, the leading art center in the Netherlands. The painting is quite properly associated with the name of Peter Coecke, one of the leading Antwerp painters between 1527 and 1550, by Georges Marlier in his monograph, *Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Brussels, 1966, 412. From Coecke the picture takes not only the subject but numerous figure types as well as the general staging of the scene. Coecke's triptych of the *Adoration of the Magi* (Oldenzaal, St. Plechelmus; Marlier, fig. 104) is one of numerous renditions of the subject in the artist's style, many of them lesser-quality variants by assistants and imitators (a better example than most is on view at the Princeton University Museum). Like the Sarasota triptych, the Oldenzaal *Adoration* features a fragmented classical ruin through which a lovely hillside landscape and a wing of the old palace can be seen. Both of these pictorial elements were popular staples of setting in Adoration scenes of the so-called Antwerp Mannerist painters of the teens. Like the Antwerp Mannerist interpretations, both Coecke's and Sarasota's pictures place particular emphasis on the exotic costumes and figure types of the magi. A swarthy dark-haired magus, representing the continent of Asia, is paired with a black magus from Africa and a white-haired king from Europe; together, they show that the three great regions of the earth have sent their leaders to adore the universal King. Indeed it was probably this aspect of concentrated universality which helped to make the theme of the Adoration of the Magi so popular in Antwerp, itself the great port center which received ships from as far away as Africa and Asia. Universality of adoration is further established by the range of ages of the three magi—from the youthful vigor of the standing African to the aged, bearded European kneeling in the foreground. What principally distinguished Coecke from his Antwerp Mannerist predecessors was the vigor and full-bodied strength of his figures. This can readily be seen in the muscular body and energetic motion of the Christ Child in both the Coecke painting and the Sarasota variant. The fleshy forms are part of a general trend in Netherlandish art, beginning during the 1520's, toward an emulation of Italianate forms, particularly for idealizing the holy figures (similar trends can also be seen in the other Ringling *Adoration*). Another distinctive Coecke element in the *Adoration* is the beturbaned oriental king, followed loosely in reverse in Sarasota (Coecke had actually visited Constantinople in 1533 and made a long woodcut frieze, published posthumously, entitled *Customs and Fashions of the Turks*). A final Coecke feature of the Sarasota picture is the head of St. Joseph with its long, flowing beard complemented by a drooping, interlocking moustache. The same facial type can also be seen on the right wing of the Sarasota picture in the form of Simon of Cyrene assisting Christ with the burden of the cross. A similar set of features can be found in Coecke's



1b. The Master of the Bob Jones Adoration Triptych
The Nativity
Adoration of the Magi
Rest on the Flight Into Egypt
 Bob Jones University Museum
 Greenville, South Carolina

Holy Family in an Interior (Louvain, Museum Vanderkelen; Marlier, fig. 174), although with livelier, more flowing hair on Coecke's St. Joseph.

The foregoing remarks were intended to show that the Sarasota picture should be considered within the larger circle of Coecke's creations, which frequently were executed by mediocre assistants and followers. The artist of the Sarasota picture almost certainly worked from the model of Coecke, but his own forms show a kind of personal stamp which makes him distinct and recognizable. In particular, the Madonna type of the Sarasota painter differs from the rosy, rounded oval faces typical of Coecke himself; instead, the Madonna is here pictured with a peculiar pointed nose and even finer features than Coecke's own Virgin. The distinctive hand of the Sarasota painter is also evident in the two Passion scenes on the wings of the Ringling triptych. After Coecke's own athletic body and solid features for Christ, the Sarasota painter stresses delicate features and gestures in the face and hands of the Savior.

The variations on a theme of Coecke which are to be found in the Sarasota triptych are also visible in a work which probably served as its direct antecedent—an Adoration triptych in the collection of Bob Jones University, Greenville, S.C. From the Bob Jones picture, Marlier dubbed the master of both works (and a few other pictures) the Master of the Bob Jones Adoration. Whether or not the Sarasota picture was by the very same master as the Bob Jones triptych (they seem to have more in common in terms of figure types borrowed from a common model than in terms of paint handling), it is certain that the Ringling work is the borrower. The Bob Jones Adoration is identical in all of its main features, which were simply copied in reverse for the Sarasota triptych. The black magus, with all of his finery, was exactly replicated, and the other figures were transferred largely intact. But the Bob Jones triptych makes sense as a unified altarpiece, for each of its scenes are taken from the Infancy of Christ. Beginning with the Nativity in the left wing, the Bob Jones triptych proceeds across its open surface through the Adoration to the Rest on the Flight into Egypt, the right wing. This same sequence follows in a number of Coecke altarpieces, such as the one now in Princeton. The Sarasota picture, however, lacks this internal logic; instead, it places scenes from the later life of Christ on the wings: Passion scenes which have no connection to the Adoration, unless by virtue of reversing the kingly respect shown by the magi into the enmity of the Roman Empire. This kind of intellectualizing, however, cannot disguise the dissonance between center and wings at Sarasota, so the likelihood is that the harmonious progression of the Bob Jones triptych was prior to, and the model for, the Ringling Adoration of the Magi triptych.

Further evidence for this hypothesis stems from the fact that the wings of the Sarasota altarpiece are themselves copies and adaptations, assembled into a *pastiche* along with the copy of Coecke's (or Bob Jones') Adoration. Alan Shestack has observed that the *Arrest of Christ* is loosely based on the late fifteenth century engraved Passion cycle *Arrest* by Martin Schongauer (ca. 1480, B.10, L.20); the figures of St. Peter and Malchus are copied quite closely. On the other hand, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* does not copy Schongauer's two versions of the scene but loosely adapts the kind of crowded scene, filled with the heads and colorful costumes of Christ's tormentors and disciples, that was a frequent sight on the shutters of Antwerp altarpieces during the teens.

L.S.



Antwerp Anonymous

Ca. 1525-1530

2. *Adoration of the Magi* (SN 927)

Oil on panel;
48 x 32 (121.9 x 81.3 cm.), bell shaped.
Bequest of Karl Bickel, 1973

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: George Arnold H. . .
Duke of Northland;
American Art Association sale, May, 1932.

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

Like the triptych of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Ringling collection from the Circle of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, this isolated panel bears the distinctive traits of Antwerp Mannerist painting with its bell-shaped frame and most favorite Antwerp religious subject: the Adoration of the Magi. In addition to the legacy of Antwerp Mannerism, however, this panel also shows the absorption of Italianate forms into Netherlandish art of the 1520's. Like Pieter Coecke's athletic Christ Child types, this Antwerp infant, too, is muscular and animated; even more so are the muscle-bound sculpted cherubs at the base of the plinth above the Madonna and Child. Not only the post-and-lintel architecture but also the Italianate putti forms show the impact of model images from the South.

In the case of this *Adoration of the Magi*, the principal source for the Ringling Master's forms is a Netherlandish intermediary: Jan Gossaert. Gossaert had visited Rome in 1508 after having been entered as a master in the Antwerp painters' guild; and though the center of his career seems to have been with the house of Burgundy in Middelburg, his output must have been a familiar sight back in Antwerp. Using his direct contact with Roman art as well as his own fondness for Italian elements in the work of Dürer, Gossaert fashioned just this sort of muscular cherub in his art—a form which was multiplied and exaggerated still further by his imitators. (A particularly striking example of this is the *Virgin and Child* in a putto-studded architectural framework, Museum Gulbenkian, Lisbon.)

Characteristic of Gossaert's ornamentation, usually on pilasters, and also of the Italian scrollwork employed by Antwerp Mannerist painters during the teens (cf. the armor of the soldiers in the *Sarasota Massacre of the Innocents*) is the elaborate acanthus design on the breastplate of the black magus. This overlap of decorative patterns also emphasizes the continuous development from the ornamented exoticism of Antwerp Mannerism (what Marlier calls the Flemish "Pre-Renaissance") in the teens to the incipient Romanism of Gossaert and, later, Coecke in the 1520's. Marlier's own researches on Pieter Coecke's origins also serve to make this very point, for Marlier identifies the Master of 1518, a leading anonymous Antwerp Mannerist (whose work closely resembles the *Ringling Massacre of the Innocents*), with Coecke's father-in-law, Jan van Dornicke. This *Sarasota Adoration of the Magi*, then, can be viewed as an important witness to the changes taking place in Antwerp painting during the 1520's when a new generation of artists took the spectacle and exoticism of Antwerp Mannerist pictures and

imbued them with the power and dignity borrowed from Italian Renaissance models. The *Ringling Adoration* is particularly indebted to the conventions of Antwerp Mannerism. But the measure of its Gossaert-based canons is to be found in the face of the Madonna, whose rounded oval head and fine features are closely derived from types found in mature Gossaert works, such as the *Madonna and Child* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (dated ca. 1525-30 in the exhibition catalogue, *Jan Gossaert genaamd Mabuse*, Bruges-Rotterdam, 1965, 151, no.22).

Thus, the *Sarasota Adoration* represents much the same stylistic phase of development within the Antwerp painting tradition as its mate, the *Ringling Adoration* triptych from the circle of Coecke van Aelst, and both works follow upon the achievements of the teens in Antwerp, such as the *Ringling Massacre of the Innocents*. Based upon the dates of its Gossaert models, the *Sarasota* single panel of the *Adoration* dates from the latter half of the 1520's.

The forms of the *Sarasota Adoration*, however, do not all derive from contemporary imagery. Some aspects of the panel go back to altarpiece traditions of the previous century, most notably to the renowned and much-copied Monforte altarpiece (Berlin-Dahlem) by Hugo van der Goes of Ghent (d.1482). Like Hugo, the Ringling master places his holy figures at the left of the Adoration composition and lines up his three magi, beginning with the kneeling pose of the beardless, balding, oldest king. Hugo's formula held special interest in Antwerp, for he had interpreted the Adoration subject not only as an event representing the three ages of man paying homage to Christ but also as the three great continents gathered into one spot to worship the new King of Kings. This gathering of the world's representatives into a single place had deep significance for the great port city of Antwerp, where international trade brought the riches of the world, including metals and spices from Africa and Asia, to Europe's new queen city. Hugo's *Adoration* was the first to include a black magus along with a swarthy Asiatic, and his Monforte formula consequently spawned a long line of followers in Antwerp sixteenth century painting, such as the half-length *Adoration* by Pieter Coecke (Brussels). In this respect, too, the Ringling Master is a true son of Antwerp painting, for he successfully blends the fifteenth century van der Goes composition with the new figural types borrowed from Gossaert into a dazzling setting which is the legacy of Antwerp Mannerism.

L.S.



Jacques d'Arthois

Brussels, 1613 - Brussels, after 1684

3. *A Forest Lake with Hunters* (SN 247)

Oil on canvas;
59 1/4 x 83 (150.5 x 210.8 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed by the artist on a rock
at the lower left: "Jac. d'Arthois."

Provenance: W.R. Pettigrew;

John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 247

Exhibitions: None

Jacques d'Arthois was the most important Flemish landscape painter during the second half of the seventeenth century. The d'Arthois landscape at the Ringling Museum is typical of his large idyllic views of dark forests, shimmering lakes and distant hills, inspired by the Forest of Soignes, south of Brussels. It is among a handful of signed works. The hunters and dogs have been attributed to David Teniers II, but could have been executed by any one of numerous artists with whom d'Arthois collaborated such as G. de Crayer (for whom he painted landscape backgrounds), G. Coques, A.D. van der Meulen, P. Bout, C. van Cleef and H. de Clerck among others.

While his grand views of thick forests and lush polder were initially inspired by Rubens, d'Arthois developed a calmer more decorative style, less vigorous in execution and easier to imitate. Landscapes by his followers and imitators, including his brother and son, are often confused with d'Arthois' own works. His influence was carried beyond the borders of the Netherlands through the numerous tapestries woven from his paintings by manufacturers in Brussels, Malines and Audenaerde.

The Ringling Museum landscape is related to a signed *Wooded Landscape* from the Musées Royaux, Brussels (inv. 4764).

W.H.W.

3a. Detail of signature



3b. Jacques d'Arthois
Wooded Landscape
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



Circle of Jan de Beer

Active in Antwerp, ca. 1504-1515

4. *The Massacre of the Innocents* (SN 202)

Oil on panel;
33 3/4 x 31 1/4 (84.4 x 79.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: According to Böhler, from the Belmont Collection;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 202 as Flemish Painter
of the Beginning of the XVIth Century.

Exhibitions: None

Like most paintings of the early sixteenth century in Antwerp, this panel cannot be readily attributed to an individual artist. It is nonetheless extremely characteristic of an entire *corpus* of pictures by anonymous masters which are loosely gathered under the rubric of "Antwerp Mannerism". The sudden prosperity and extensive trading network of the port of Antwerp made it an ideal center for the export of Flemish religious art, both in the form of panel paintings and carved wooden retables. Many of these items are found today in far-flung locations, such as Sweden, France, Spain and Germany. None are signed, and few are dated, but the few datable works, such as the namesake painting of the Antwerp Master of 1518, indicate a period of ca. 1515-20 as the high point of this artistic movement of the "Antwerp Mannerism".

Most of the Antwerp Mannerist paintings are characterized by qualities which are basic to the Ringling *Massacre of the Innocents*: crowded compositions, attention to locale (frequently featuring buildings heavily ornamented with Italianate decorative reliefs and scrollwork), fanciful costumes (often with a foreign or exotic flavor), and stereotypical, repeated facial types. Most of these elements had already appeared in the earlier, flourishing Antwerp craft of carved wooden altarpieces. These retables featured small-scale Gospel narratives, usually assembled out of highly animated, tightly-bunched, and gaily dressed wood figures, which were sometimes painted to heighten their life-like appearance and pictorial organization. These sculptors were colleagues of Antwerp's painters in the local guild of St. Luke; moreover, many of the sculpted retables featured paintings, often in the Antwerp Mannerist mode, on their shutters. A further witness to the link in Antwerp between painters and sculptors is the frequent use by both groups of bell-shaped frames for their altarpieces; these frames were carved in Antwerp by the shrewworkers' guild, or joiners. Such frames are not represented by the Ringling *Massacre of the Innocents* but can be found in two other Sarasota pictures: the *Adoration of the Magi* (Antwerp Master, ca. 1525-30) and the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych (Circle of Peter Coecke van Aelst), nos. 2 and 1.

The major Antwerp artist whose name is most frequently linked to major paintings of Antwerp Mannerism is Jan de Beer (active in Antwerp from 1504 to 1515 or later). This shadowy painter, although mentioned frequently in local guild records and early histories of Antwerp, is identifiable only because of a signed drawing of nine male heads in the British Museum (dated 1520). These heads bear a close resemblance to the Ringling *Massacre of the Innocents* faces with their sharp, ridge-like noses, heads tilted askance or presented in pure profile. The cluster of paintings ascribed to the name Jan de Beer shares these same facial characteristics along with most of the features mentioned above in connection with the general movement of Antwerp

Mannerism. Indeed, it seems that the success and popularity of Jan de Beer spawned imitators and the general fashion now called Antwerp Mannerism. The Jan de Beer *corpus*, insofar as it is definable, presents more graceful movement and finer features than the Ringling image (cf. the Brera *Adoration* altarpiece, Milan, or the Cologne *Nativity* altarpiece as typical examples). The rubbery awkwardness of the slain children in the Sarasota picture is notably weaker than the comparable Christ Child figures of accepted Jan de Beer works.

If the Ringling master is an imitator of Jan de Beer's manner, he is certainly in good company. It thus should come as no surprise that the *Massacre of the Innocents* can also be compared to other works of the Antwerp Mannerist movement, particularly the anonymous artists who have been assigned the group names Master of the Antwerp Adoration and Master of 1518. (For discussion of these groups, cf. the recent exhibition catalogue *Primitifs flamands anonymes*, Bruges, 1969, 156-61, 174-89, 288-91, 297-305.) In fact, the fluid situation of attribution has often seen the works of these two masters as the product of a single, unknown artist. Neither of these two groups matches up exactly with the Ringling picture. The Master of the Antwerp Adoration offers perhaps the closest comparison, although most of his figures are more slender and less energetically powerful (a close resemblance in types, however, can be found in the *Miracle of the Loaves* shutter, Cologne, or the Brussels *Adoration* triptych, where the types of the children match up quite well with Sarasota).

The *Massacre of the Innocents* includes the Flight into Egypt by the Holy Family in its central distance. More often in the early sixteenth century, the priority of the two subjects is reversed, and the Flight into Egypt becomes the principal theme with the Massacre in the distance. Indeed, it was the threat to Christ posed by the decree of Herod to murder young male offspring which occasioned the Flight into Egypt. The Flight theme was often popular (especially in the Antwerp works of Joachim Patinir) for the opportunity it provided to depict landscape. In contrast, the Massacre of the Innocents offers action, costumes and spectacle, like other martyrdom scenes, such as the namesake picture of another Antwerp Mannerist, the Master of the Martyrdom of St. John. But both the Massacre and the Flight formed one of the distresses of Christ's Infancy which were grouped together in late medieval devotion as the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin; this collection of images was a popular one in both Antwerp and Bruges in the early sixteenth century, as paintings by such artists as Massys, van Orley and Isenbrant attest. Quite possibly, the Ringling *Massacre of the Innocents* was part of a larger ensemble of pictures consecrated to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.

L.S.



Aelbrecht Bouts

Louvain, ca. 1460 - Louvain, 1549

5. *David with the Head of Goliath* (SN 197)

Oil on panel;
round, 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ (46 x 46.3 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Émile Gavet, Paris;
Mrs. Oliver H. Belmont, Newport, Rhode Island;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Émile Molinier**,
Collection Émile Gavet, Paris, 1889,
no. 820
as Florentine School End of the 15th Century;
Suida, no. 197

Exhibitions: None

Although it displays a distressing state of preservation, this round wood panel nevertheless appears to be an original work by Aelbrecht (Albert) Bouts. Bouts was a Louvain artist, the second son of the famous painter, Dieric Bouts (d.1475). Aelbrecht's work closely resembles the paintings of his father and the large workshop production of the Bouts studio in Louvain. As a result, his own work is difficult to classify and completely uncertain as to date, particularly in view of the fact that Aelbrecht continued to paint in the conservative fifteenth century manner of Dieric Bouts until well into the mid-sixteenth century. Aelbrecht's identity as a painter rests upon the identification of his altarpiece (now in the Brussels Royal Museum), the *Assumption of the Virgin*, with the same one reliably described by the sixteenth century Louvain historian, Molanus. Together with his second wife and his coat of arms, the painter himself appears as donor on the right wing of the *Assumption* triptych. A second picture, the *Münich Annunciation*, contains the same insignia along with the arms of Louvain.

Stylistically, the Sarasota panel has the distinctive pug noses which characterize the villainous facial types of Dieric Bouts and his followers, including Aelbrecht. Moreover, the sugar-loaf rock mass at the right is a Boutsian feature included in numerous landscape backgrounds (e.g. Dieric's *Descent of the Damned* in Lille). Frequently, Bouts figures display a certain stiffness and a tendency toward vertical, angular movements and poses. The childlike strides of the young David here are no exception. As mentioned above, it is not possible to draw a sharp line between the productions of Dieric, his workshop, and his sons, including Aelbrecht, all of whom were trained in that very workshop (W.Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1938, illustrates both the most successful attempt and the ultimate futility or limitations to making these distinctions). Compared to Dieric's major works, such as the *Last Supper* altarpiece in St. Pierre, Louvain (1464-7), the Ringling *David* presents faces which are relatively schematic and mannered in their types, indicating the habits of frequent repetition more appropriate to a follower, in this case probably a son of the creative artist. The face of Goliath also resembles a Boutsian devotional image, usually attributed to Aelbrecht, of the severed head of John the Baptist on a round platter (Friedländer, vol. III, no. 68). Without more of the original surface remaining on the Ringling panel, no personalized techniques of painting can be used to establish a distinction between the senior and the junior Bouts. Worth mentioning, however, is the fact that Aelbrecht's most obvious and personal creations have been associated with his depiction of a crowd of main figures in space, in outdoor landscapes (Brus-

sels *Assumption*) in interior chambers (*Münich Annunciation*). While in the *David* considerable landscape is featured behind the young protagonist, the foreground figure remains detached from his overall environment, much as in the case of Dieric's pictures of an earlier era, such as the wings of the *Last Supper* altarpiece. If the Ringling *David* is correctly to be associated with the name of Aelbrecht Bouts, then it probably stands close to the instructional period with his father and early in his career, i.e. still within the final quarter of the fifteenth century.

Of course, much of the difficulty of making a precise or definitive judgment about the authorship of the Ringling *David* is due to its ruinous condition, apparent even from photographs. Some of the blurred passages, especially of complicated patterns, such as David's brocaded sleeves or Goliath's gilded, Gothic armor, indicate the problems posed to the restorer. In fact, it is doubtful whether the picture originally had a round format. The very top of the panel is clearly added, and weak painting at the right edge also appears to be an addition rather than simply the defective reconstruction by a restorer. Passages at the left, in contrast, appear to be damaged portions of a continuous background with the center. Possibly the extent of this damage forced an early owner to re-fashion the panel into a round design rather than its original rectangular format.

Support for this hypothesis comes from the subject matter of David and Goliath. During the fifteenth century, and in the work of Aelbrecht Bouts in the sixteenth century, an isolated panel with Old Testament subject matter is extremely rare. The principal reason for selecting an Old Testament scene is theological; such events were considered to be prefigurations of the New Testament. These notions were popularized in devotional tracts, such as the *Mirror of Human Salvation* (*Speculum humanae salvationis*) and *Bible of the Poor* (*Biblia Pauperum*) during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Both Dieric (in the *Last Supper* altarpiece) and Aelbrecht Bouts (in *Moses and the Burning Bush* and *Gideon and the Fleece*—two prototypes of the Immaculate Conception) made use of Old Testament imagery, but neither placed such scenes in isolation from New Testament fulfillments. Aelbrecht's two scenes (McNay Art Institute, San Antonio), for example, are shutters, presumably of an altarpiece featuring an Annunciation or other Madonna subject in the center. His *Münich Annunciation* includes background roundels of both Gideon and Eve. Hence it is highly improbable that David and Goliath would have existed as an isolated panel by Bouts, let alone a roundel, which could only be paired with another roundel, as in the wall decorations within the *Münich Annunciation*. David's victory, of course, presaged Christ's own victory over the Devil (cf. also the roundel of David and Goliath, based on Michelangelo's decoration in the Sistine Chapel, which appears behind the *Nativity* in the Ringling collection by Cornelis van Cleve)—even more so in light of the fact that Christ stemmed from the house of David.

L.S.



Attributed to **Jan Brueghel I**
Brussels, 1568 - Antwerp, 1625

6. *View on the River Scheldt Near Antwerp* (SN 765)

Oil on panel;
21½ x 30 (54.6 x 76.2 cm.)
Gift of Jacob Polak, 1963

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: With P. de Boer, Amsterdam, 1954;
Jacob Polak, Sarasota.
Bibliography: None
Exhibitions: None

This fascinating painting has been heavily restored throughout; in many areas, also, the original paint is so thin that the underdrawing and pentimenti are clearly visible. Nevertheless, a master's touch is still apparent in such details as the dog and axe in the lower left, as well as in the carefully controlled recession into space and zones of light and shadow. The work is precisely similar, in every detail, to a smaller painting on copper, formerly in the renowned collection of Francois Tronchin (*De Genève à L'Ermitage*, Musée Rath, Geneva, 1974, pp. 43-44); the Geneva catalogue refers to another version, also on copper and of the same dimensions (27 x 35.1 cm.), formerly in the Frans collection, Brussels. The source for the whole series seems to have been a larger panel (47 x 45.5 cm.), signed and dated 1608, in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, one of Jan's most splendid works, in which the ferry boat, sailboat, and right bank of the Scheldt are omitted (hence, the square, not horizontal format). Jan unquestionably repeated many of his compositions, and there are flashes of his exquisite, miniaturist's touch in the Ringling painting; however, the restored condition of the work prevents a final decision. Certainly, the quality of the painting is higher than that of Peter Gysels, the closest of Jan's followers in this genre.

F.W.R.



Follower of **Jan Brueghel I**

Brussels, 1568 - Antwerp, 1625

8. *Orpheus Charming the Animals* (SN 231)

Oil on canvas;

46 x 63¼ (116.8 x 160.7 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 231 as Follower of Jan Brueghel.

Exhibitions: None

This mythological subject (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, XI) was especially popular in Flemish art, and particularly with Jan Brueghel and his school, since it allowed the artist to represent a profusion of animals; this painting is a copy or variant of one of Jan's many versions of the theme (in Madrid, Rome, and elsewhere).

F.W.R.



8a. Follower of Jan Brueghel I
Orpheus Charming the Animals
Galleria Borghese, Rome



After **Robert Campin**

Valenciennes, ca. 1375 - Tournai, 1444

9. *Virgin and Child in an Apse* (SN 196)

Oil and tempera on panel;

18 1/8 x 13 3/8 (45.7 x 34.9 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Émile Gavet, Paris;

Mrs. Oliver H. Belmont,

Newport, Rhode Island;

John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Émile Molinier**,

Collection Émile Gavet, Paris, 1889,

no. 822;

M.J. Friedländer,

Die altniederländische Malerei,

Berlin-Leiden, 1924-1937, vol. I, pp. 114-115;

M.J. Friedländer,

"Über den Zwang der Ikonographischer

Tradition in der Vlamischen Kunst,"

The Art Quarterly, Winter, 1938

pp. 18ff.;

Erwin Panofsky,

Early Netherlandish Painting:

Its Origin and Character,

Cambridge, Mass., 1953,

vol. I, pp. 175, 353, vol. II, pl. 222;

Suida, no. 196.

Exhibitions: None

9a. After **Robert Campin**

Virgin and Child in an Apse

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



This composition is a faithful copy, quite close to the original in quality, of one of the most admired pictures by Robert Campin, the Tournai master (d.1444) who was one of the principal Flemish painters of the early fifteenth century.

Campin left no certain signed and dated works, but documented variations of his creations by his pupil Jacques Daret allow scholars to establish a central *corpus* of Campin's art works with some confidence. Daret's altarpiece of 1434-5 for the city of Arras includes a panel of the *Nativity* which is closely dependent on Campin's own *Nativity*, now in Dijon. The Dijon *Nativity* itself has neither a firmly established date nor a fixed origin, but scholars agree in placing it within Campin's work during the early 1420's, well before the reworking of its motifs by Daret in Arras.

The Ringling Madonna resembles the Virgin of the Dijon *Nativity* in wearing robes of pure white trimmed with gold. In both works, the Virgin's head presents a distinctive almond-shaped face found in numerous works associated with Campin. One particular Campin element from Dijon repeated in the Sarasota work is the pleat-like folds which form a pool of fabric around the Virgin's feet. Also common to both works is the thin, frail Christ Child with his bald, high, rounded dome of a head. In short, there are good reasons to associate the Sarasota picture with authentic creations of Robert Campin.

Numerous other versions exist of this *Madonna in an Apse*. Notable examples in public collections are in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and the National Gallery, London. (Other versions can be found in M.J. Friedländer, as number 74 in his catalogue). The Sarasota panel is the finest surviving version of Campin's missing original, for it reproduces subtle effects of brushwork and illusionism which can be found in authentic Campin panels. An example are the

whitish highlights on the tubular folds of the angels' garments or the lustrous sheen in hair or on skin surfaces (cf. the Dijon *Nativity*). The Ringling picture still presents a flatter, less fully characterized modeling than one expects from a Campin original, as one can notice especially in the face of the Madonna, but it is still a fine approximation of the appearance of the missing original of the *Madonna in an Apse*.

The delicate, more linear features of the Virgin's face and the overall flatness of pictorial rendering might also be due, in part, to the early date of the *Madonna in an Apse* within Campin's career. Later works of the artist's maturity offer more fully rounded and modeled forms. In all probability, the *Madonna in an Apse* was painted prior to 1420, well before a work like the Dijon *Nativity*, but precise dates are impossible in the current state of our knowledge about Campin. Only a few other paintings have been ascribed to this early period of Campin's output, so comparisons are difficult, but the works receiving the greatest favorable consensus include a fragment of *John the Baptist* (Cleveland), a triptych of the *Entombment* (London, Seilern coll.), and a *Madonna of Humility* (Berlin-Dahlem), probably the closest comparison of types to the Sarasota panel. Visually, the *Madonna in an Apse* still resembles paintings from the turn of the century. The gentle curve of the niche-like apse suggests spatial depth but does not really displace much volume, in contrast to the later interiors of Campin. Moreover, the illusionistic effects of modeling in skin, hair, and fabrics is offset by the artist's retention of traditional visual elements from iconic images in the form of a halo of radiating golden rays.

The presentation of the Madonna with angels in an apse is based upon a traditional medieval metaphor of the Church as the image of heaven. Furthermore, as Panofsky has shown, the visual identification of the Virgin with an



apse space in a church (rather than locating her within a sculpted niche) is emblematic of the theological identification of the Virgin with the Church itself. Panofsky's principal example of this symbolic identification of the Virgin with the Church is Jan van Eyck's *Madonna in a Church* (Berlin-Dahlem), but van Eyck's small work (undated, but quite possibly dating from the later 1430's) surely postdates and probably borrows its central concept from this very composition of Campin.

Music-playing angels not only serve to mark the dignity of the central Madonna, but they also glorify her holiness with song in accord with the dictates of the book of Psalms. Together with their favorite instruments—lute, harp, and occasionally an organ—such heavenly instrumentalists occur frequently within illuminated manuscripts of Campin's day and also continue to appear in celestial imagery throughout the fifteenth century in Flanders. The most noteworthy examples are Jan van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece and Hans Memling's massive Antwerp panels of Christ as the Salvator Mundi with angels. Historians of music have commented extensively on these musical angels; the finest studies are by E. Winternitz, "On Angel Concerts in the Fifteenth Century," *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art*, 2nd ed., New Haven and London, 1979, 137-49, and R. Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel*, München, 1962.

A large number of copies attests to the fame and popularity of the Campin *Madonna in an Apse*. Some of its attraction probably derived from its success as a votive image. During the fifteenth century several famous pictures were copied because they were believed to possess miraculous powers or were considered as holy icons (Panofsky, p. 297f., and S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, Abo, 1965, 29f. mention one famous image, the icon of the Madonna at Cambrai, which was frequently copied because of its great age, making it famous as the original portrait icon of the Madonna of St. Luke). No specifics are known about Campin's *Madonna in an Apse*, but its enduring interest can be demonstrated by free copies of its composition by major Flemish painters of the early sixteenth century, including Gerard David (Chicago, Epstein coll.), Quentin Massys (Lyons, and London, Seilern Coll.), and Bernard van Orley (Madrid, Prado). L.S.

Cornelis van Cleve

Antwerp, 1520 - Antwerp, after 1554

10. *Nativity* (SN 201)

Oil on panel;
42 1/2 x 32 1/2 (108.6 x 82.6 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: With John Webb;

Christie's sale, Dec. 14, 1928, no. 133
as Lambert Lombard;
with W. Sabin;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: *Suida*, no. 201 as Flemish Painter

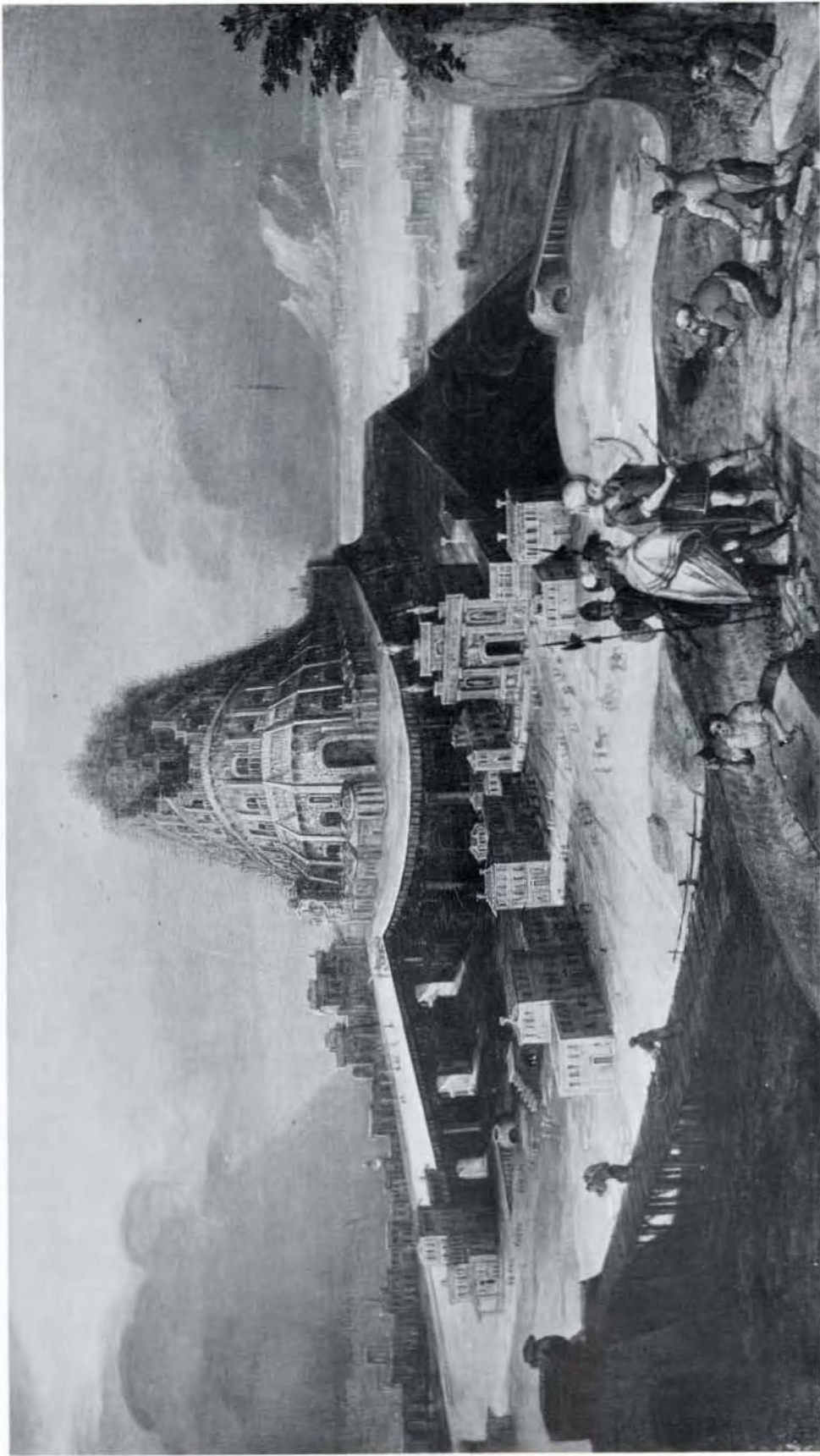
of the XVI Century, Circle of Joos van Cleve the Elder.

Exhibitions: None

This attractive panel elusively defies precise attribution but clearly points to the impact of Italian art on mid-sixteenth century Flemish painting. In all probability, Max Friedländer's attribution to Cornelis van Cleve, also known as "sotte", or mad, Cleve, should be retained.

Cornelis van Cleve was born in 1520, the son of a famous Antwerp painter, Joos van Cleve (d.1540). His nickname derives from his bout with mental illness. His death seems to have occurred soon after 1554. No certain signed or dated works of Cornelis survive, though many of his paintings closely follow the lead of his father. A figure like the bearded St. Joseph in the Ringling *Nativity* compares closely with the Joseph in Friedländer's cornerstone picture by Cornelis van Cleve: the Antwerp *Adoration of the Magi*; ultimately the model for this figure is the bearded Joseph type of Joos van Cleve from the teens (cf. the Prague *Adoration* altarpiece or the *Adoration* altarpiece in San Donato, Genoa). Also close to Cornelis' Antwerp *Adoration* is the figure of the Christ Child, with His luminous, alabaster skin, delicate smooth modeling, wispy golden curls, and tiny features crowded unnaturally together under a high forehead. In characterizing the style of the older Joos van Cleve, Friedländer has pointed to the increase in chiaroscuro effects and dramatic compositions in his work. The best example of this late style, together with the impact of Italy (principally the school of Leonardo da Vinci) on the mature Joos, is the Kansas City *Madonna of the Cherries* (Nelson Gallery), where the form and modeling of Madonna and Child accord well with the types found in the Ringling *Nativity*. Clearly the roots of Cornelis van Cleve lie in the late works of his father, Joos, situating the Ringling picture not far on either side of the year 1540.

The basic accuracy of this observation is confirmed by the duplicate version of the Ringling picture, a panel now in Dresden (no.810), there attributed to the mature Joos van Cleve (A. Mayer-Meintschel, *Niederländische Malerei 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Dresden, 1966, 16-17). Inasmuch as very few works by either Cornelis or the aged Joos (and his workshop) are definable, this borderline must remain fluid, like the uncertain attribution of the Aelbrecht/Dieric Bouts *David with the Head of Goliath* in the Ringling collection (no. 5).



What is perhaps more important about the Ringling Museum *Nativity* is its dependence upon and assimilation of Italian motifs, in this case the circle of Raphael. The Ringling picture's principal motif of a Madonna in profile unveiling her reclining Child goes back to a sketch by Raphael in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, no.564). The direct source in all probability was a large, squared tapestry design (Paris, Louvre, inv. 4269) by Thomas Vincidor of the Raphael school (cf. *Roman Drawings of the Sixteenth Century from the Musée du Louvre, Paris*, exh. cat., Chicago, 1979, 144-6, no. 63, with full bibliography). The Vincidor tapestry cartoon, like the Raphael cartoons for the Sistine Chapel tapestries, was sent to Flanders to be woven by the master weavers of Brussels; Vincidor himself arrived with his drawing in 1520 and remained in the Netherlands afterwards for numerous projects. This Northern contact with Roman art, however, was not sufficient for the master of the Ringling *Nativity*, who evidently wanted very much to convey the impression that he had actually been to Rome and seen its great monuments. The column and parapet come from Vincidor's drawing, but the looming image of the Colosseum directly behind the Madonna are an addition to the basic composition not found even in the version in Dresden. One other modification of the Vincidor drawing was to replace the kneeling donor, originally Pope Leo X in the tapestry design, with the figure of St. Joseph, while retaining the praying and kneeling gesture and position. The actual visage of Joseph is close to Vincidor's type, seen on the other side of the Madonna.

Less noticeable but equally significant in terms of displaying contacts with Rome is the roundel on the pilaster above the Virgin's head. It contains a dimly visible image which is an accurate recollection of Michelangelo's *David Beheading Goliath*, the pendentive scene from the Sistine Chapel. The scene of David and Goliath is typologically associated with the mission of Christ, as in the case of the Ringling Museum *David and Goliath* by Aelbrecht Bouts (no. 5). The unusual presence of this scene in the context of the *Nativity* (also absent from the Dresden version) suggests that the display of "Romanism" is a principal reason for the roundel's inclusion here.

During the 1530's and 1540's, a trip to Rome was *de rigueur* for an aspiring Flemish artist (cf. N. Dacos, *Les peintres belges à Rome au XVI^e siècle*, Brussels-Rome, 1964). Already, Dutchmen like Jan van Scorel (in Rome 1522, briefly curator of the papal collection of antiquities under Pope Adrian VI) and Martin van Heemskerck (1532-6, famous for his sketchbook of archaeological sites and the new St. Peter's in Rome) had visited Rome, and they were followed by Flemish artists like Pieter Coecke van Aelst (mid-1520's), Lambert Lombard (1537-8), and Frans Floris (1538-40). Joos van Cleve is not known to have visited Italy, although the presence of several of his works in Genoa and the influence of Leonardo da Vinci on his late works has led some scholars to hypothesize a trip at least to Northern Italy. About Cornelis even less is known, but it is clear that by the year 1540 the prestige of including Roman references in a Netherlandish art work is considerable.

The fine workmanship, coloristic tonalities, and soft, subtle modeling strongly suggest the originality (rather than workshop authorship) of the Ringling Museum panel in comparison with the drier, harder execution (especially in a figure like Joseph) of the Dresden painting. Neither work is a slavish copy of the Vincidor drawing, though the Dresden picture is simplified in relation to its model, while the Ringling picture adds extra figures and the Roman architectural

and visual references, mentioned above. Possibly a missing Joos van Cleve composition served as the model for both surviving images, and the Ringling master, presumably Cornelis, modified it to conform to the greater interest in Roman references during his later epoch.

The *Nativity* subject had long been a favorite topic for Netherlandish devotional images. Throughout the fifteenth century, beginning with a work like Robert Campin's *Dijon Nativity* (ca.1425), the theme had permitted a combination of Gospel narrative with the votive display of Christ's body appropriate for the mass or for personal pious meditation. (A related theme from the Passion of Christ is the Deposition, represented in the Ringling collection by Isenbrant's panel, no. 27.) This sixteenth century Ringling version contrasts the holiness of the Madonna and Child at the *Nativity* with the everyday characters surrounding them by means of painterly qualities—the contrast of their gleaming whiteness with the shadowy, dark brown tones of Joseph and the onlooking shepherds, thereby eliminating the traditional haloes and visionary glow of the holy figures of the previous century.

L.S.

Attributed to **Hendrick van Cleve** Antwerp, 1525 - Antwerp, 1589

11. *The Tower of Babel* (SN 848)

Oil on panel;
14 x 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ (35.6 x 61.4 cm.)
Museum purchase, 1968

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: Pierre de Séjournet, Paris.
Bibliography: None
Exhibitions: None

There are numerous paintings, drawings, and prints illustrating this crucial moment in the history of mankind, when the multiplication of languages occurred. The construction of such a large building allowed artists the opportunity to depict masons and carpenters and other workmen plying their trade, as well as scaffolding, cranes, kilns, and other contemporary apparatus.

There are a large number of these scenes painted by Hendrick van Cleve or his followers; perhaps the closest is the version in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, in which, however, the staffage figures are different. The painting is now thin in many places, abraded and overpainted; it may have been executed by Van Cleve, a known follower such as Lodewyk de Caullery or Maerten van Valckenborch, or, indeed, an anonymous artist.

F.W.R.

Jan Fyt and others

Antwerp, 1611 - Antwerp, 1661

25. *Atalanta and Meleager Hunt The Calydonian Boar* (SN 236)

Oil on canvas;
96 x 162 (243.8 x 411.5 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist on rock, lower center:
"Joannes Fyt. F./1648"

Provenance: Ravensworth Castle sale, June 15, 1920, no. 49;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 236 as Jan Boeckhorst and Paul de Vos.

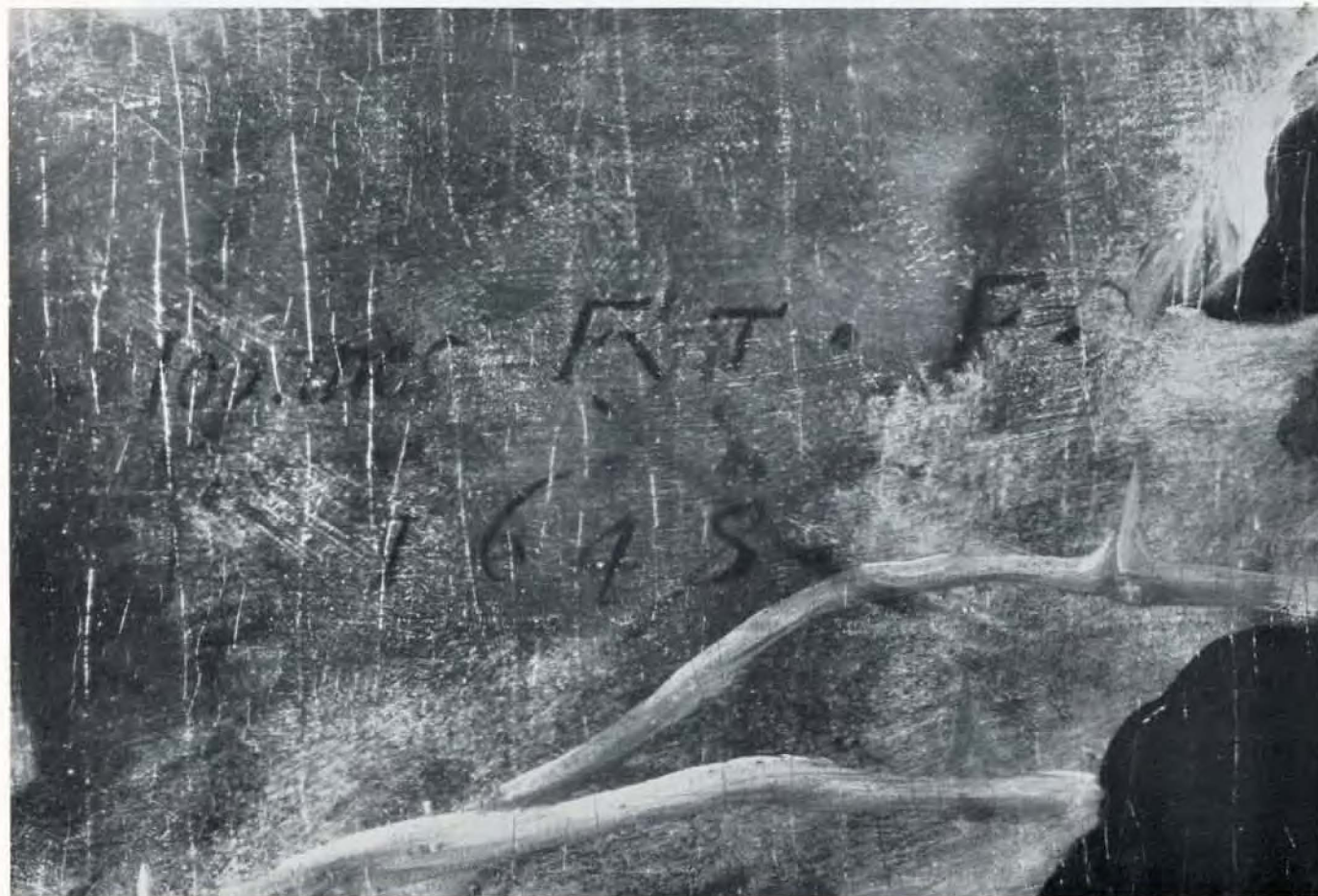
Exhibitions: None

This fine painting, signed and dated by Jan Fyt in 1648, is based on equally large and impressive prototypes executed by Rubens and studio assistants working with him. The animals here, which were the parts painted by Fyt himself, are strikingly close to a boar hunt (without human figures), signed and dated by Fyt in 1654, in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva; similar hunts were painted by Frans Snyder, Paul de Vos and Pieter Boel. The figures are clearly by another hand; the various members of the Rubens studio are difficult to disentangle, but it is possible that this second hand may be Jan van Boeckhorst (or Theodoor van Thulden). It is difficult to determine whether or not a third hand is responsible for the weak landscape. Thus, this work not only shows us the quintessentially Rubensian fusion of the classical and the High Baroque, it also demonstrates the complicated studio practice of the time, and the levels of quality possible within a single canvas.

During a visit to the museum in 1979, Hilla Robels suggested that Erasmus Quellinus may have painted the figures. She also noted that the landscape is rather Italianate, reflecting Fyt's visit to Italy (editor).

F.W.R.

25a. Detail



Marcellus Coffermans

Active in Antwerp, ca. 1540-1570

12. *The Lamentation* (SN 205)

Oil on panel;
14½ x 10½ (36.8 x 26.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: American Art Association sale, April 9-11, 1929,
no. 277 as Attributed to Cornelius Engelbrechtsen;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 205

This softly modeled picture is a typical example of the work by a little-known artist of the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Marcellus Coffermans is often disregarded by scholars because his works depend so much on the pictures of previous artists, principally the fifteenth century Netherlandish painters and major German printmakers, such as Dürer. Consequently, although he worked around the middle of the sixteenth century, most of his pictures appear to date from a much earlier period. Coffermans is recorded as a master of the Antwerp painters' guild in 1549. His last signed picture is an *Annunciation* (dated 1575, San Sebastian). Most of his pictures resemble the Ringling Museum *Lamentation* in having a small size and religious subjects.

This panel is typical of Coffermans (cf. also his signed *Crucifixion*, Mexico City, Academia de San Carlos) in its atmospheric, almost hazy effects, as well as its distinctive rose and green color scheme. These features make Coffermans more closely resemble the later, tradition-bound school of painting in Bruges (represented in the Ringling Museum collection by Adriaen Isenbrant's *Deposition* no. 27) more than the contemporary styles of Coffermans' mid-sixteenth century Antwerp colleagues.

One principal model for this *Lamentation* is a work which Coffermans could have known in his native Antwerp: Quinten Massys' *Lamentation* altarpiece (1508-11), painted for the shrewworkers' guild of the city and housed in the Antwerp cathedral. From Massys, Coffermans has borrowed the basic composition and cast of characters, including the full panoply of mourning women in a variety of gestures of grief. Also featured are Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, both dressed in exotic hats. Massys also

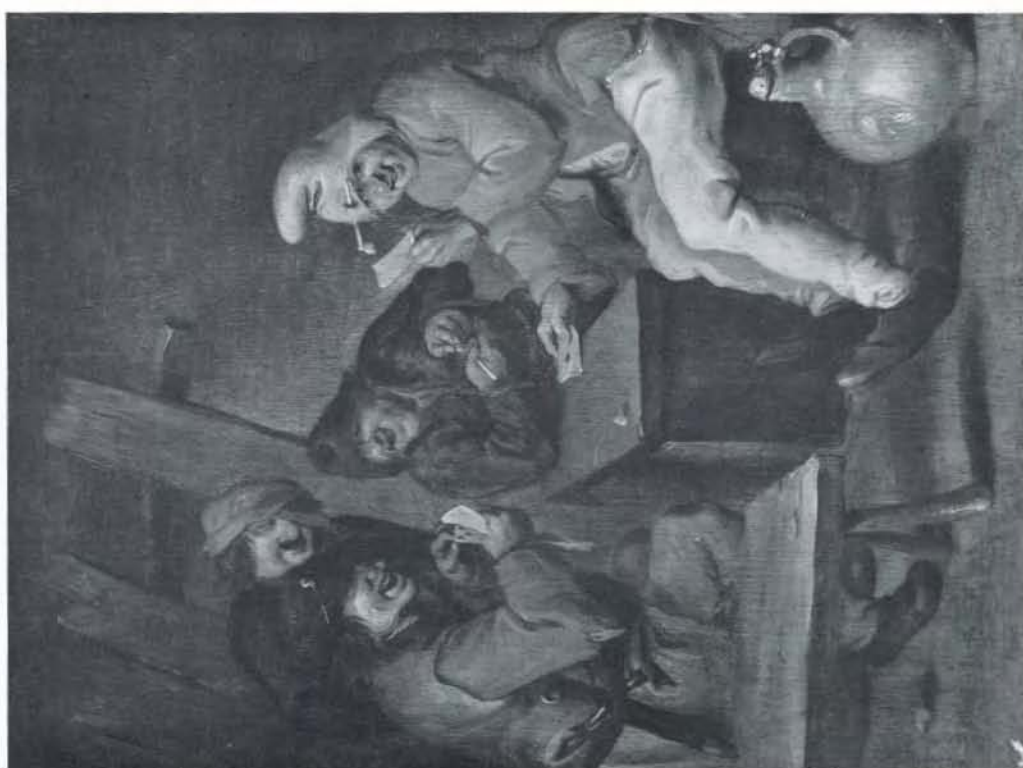
included the mount of Calvary behind the foreground scene, just like Coffermans in *Sarasota*, but the specific rendering by Coffermans of both Golgotha and the distant Jerusalem is derived instead from a second Massys panel, the Louvre *Pieta* (ca. 1515). Coffermans' *Pieta* scene itself, with the Virgin holding her dead son on her lap is the artist's debt to Gerard David's London *Lamentation* or to David's own ultimate source, Roger van der Weyden's *Pieta* (London, National Gallery, with numerous copies and variants). In addition to the type of a stiff, extended body of Christ, presented for viewer contemplation and prayer, van der Weyden invented many of the motifs which were popular in *Lamentation* groups of the Flemish tradition, of which Coffermans' panel is a late example. In particular, the stooped and weeping female figure at the right edge of the Coffermans is derived from the Magdalene of Roger's Prado *Deposition* (ca.1440). The figure in the lower left corner owes a debt to the seated, gesturing woman mourner of van der Weyden's Hague *Lamentation* (ca.1464).

In short, Coffermans has studied his predecessors well. His entire picture is an eclectic re-combination of elements from the great masters of the Netherlandish tradition. Like van der Weyden, David, and Massys, Coffermans favored religious narratives which offered occasions for pious devotion. To this end, the *Lamentation* was an ideal choice of subject, because it could at once portray the drama of the Gospels, complete with a full dramatic cast and an extensive landscape setting, even as it offered religious pathos and the occasion for votive display of the body of Christ.

L.S.



14.



13.

Imitator of **Joos van Craesbeeck**
Neerlinter, 1605 - Brussels, ca. 1654-1661

13. *The Card Players* (SN 735)

Oil on panel;
13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ (33.8 x 25.1 cm.)
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Gottlieb, 1961

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Gottlieb, 1961
Bibliography: None
Exhibitions: None

Anthony Van Dyck

Antwerp, 1599 - London, 1641

14. *St. Andrew* (SN 227)

Oil on panel;
25 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ (64.8 x 51.4 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: Palazzo Rosso, Genoa, early eighteenth century;
Giambattista Serra, Palazzo Serra, Genoa, 1766;
private collection,
Naples (possibly Donna Giulia Serra);
with Böhler, Munich, c. 1914;
Madame Godfrey Brauer, Nice, 1915;
Brauer Sale, Christie's, July 5, 1929, no. 42;
according to Böhler,
acquired by John Ringling for c. \$4,000.

Bibliography: *Descrizione della Galleria de quadri esistenti nel Palazzo del Serenissimo Doge Gio Francesco Brignole Sale*, Genoa, 1748;
C.G. Ratti,
Istruzione di quanto puo vedersi di pui bello, in Genoa, Genoa, 1766,
vol. I, p. 152, 253;
R. Oldenbourg,
Münchner Jahrbuch, 1914-1915,
p. 224;
Gustav Glück, "Van Dyck's Apostelfolge,"
Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer, Leipzig, 1927,
p. 142;
Heinz Rosenbaum,
Der Junge Van Dyck, Munich, 1928,
p. 37, 44;
Gustav Glück,
Van Dyck, N.Y., 1931,
p. 43, 523;
Gustav Glück,
Rubens, van Dyck und ihr Kreis, Vienna, 1933,
p. 290;
Abduk Hak Selim,
An Illustrated Inventory of Famous Dismembered Works of Art: European Painting, Paris, 1974,
p. 82, fig. 2

Exhibitions: None

The Ringling *St. Andrew* is part of a powerful series of Christ and the twelve Apostles painted by van Dyck around 1619 during his early maturity when he worked as an assistant in Rubens studio (1619) and before he began his European travels with a trip to England (1620). He was inspired by Rubens' famous series of apostles painted in 1610-12 for the Duke of Lerma. The Apostle series is complicated by the fact that van Dyck repeated it in part or in whole and that his students created their own copies. Already in 1660-61 there was a lawsuit to determine if the 14 panels engraved by Cornelis van Caukercken were originals. The only complete set

14a. **Anthony van Dyck**
St. Andrew
Museo de Arte, Ponce, Puerto Rico



of Apostles to survive was discovered by Julius Böhler, Ringling's art advisor, in a Neapolitan private collection in 1914. The panels were immediately accepted as originals, dubbed "The Böhler Series," and broken up for sale to various private collectors. Thus far only seven have resurfaced: The *St. Andrew* at the Ringling Museum; *St. John the Evangelist*, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest; *St. Paul* and *St. Peter*, both in the Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach Coll., Essen and *St. Judas Thaddaeus*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Another original version of the *St. Andrew* is in the Museum of Art, Ponce, Puerto Rico, and described by Julius Held as the first version, datable at c. 1618 (*European and American Paintings*, Museo de Arte, Ponce, 1965, fig. 50).

There are copies known in the Chillingworth Coll., Lucerne, sold at Gallery Fischer, Sept. 5, 1922, no. 16; M. van Gelder, Coll., Uccle and the Kaplan Coll., sale, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, June 12, 1968, no. 33.

By limiting himself to bust length figures set against dark backgrounds, powerfully modeled bodies with robes full of movement, simplified attributes (Andrew's X cross) and dramatically accented hands, the youthful van Dyck has created a series of deeply moving psychological studies of the Church's founders that rivals to some extent the earthy divinity of Rembrandt's apostles painted in the late 1640's and early 1650's.

The dramatic impact of the Ringling *St. Andrew* is somewhat diminished by considerable repaint in the left vertical quarter of the panel, particularly in the fingers of the right hand. Smaller areas of overpaint are found below the nose, the pupils of the eyes and the area over the eyelids, below the brows.

W.H.W.



Follower of **Anthony van Dyck**
Antwerp, 1599 - London, 1641

15. *Portrait of a Nobleman* (SN 228)

Oil on canvas;

82½ x 50

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Lebrun Collection;

Sir George Holford, Dorchester House, London;

Holford Sale, Christie's, London, May, 1928,

no. 63, £1,310;

Saville Gallery, London (for John Ringling?);

John Ringling.

Bibliography: **R. Benson,**

The Holford Collection, Dorchester House II,

London, 1927, p. 19, no. 124,

plate CXII

(as van Dyck, *Portrait of Count Brandolini*);

Suida, no. 228 (as van Dyck and Follower).

Exhibitions: **Grosvenor Gallery,**

London, *Van Dyck*, 1886-87, no. 68.

According to the Marchesa Serra di Cassano, the Ringling portrait is of her ancestor Paolo II Brandolini, painted by van Dyck at the Brandolini castello at Cison, Treviso, about 1625 (curatorial files, 1964). The painting was purportedly sold by the Marchesa's grandfather in the middle of the nineteenth century and eventually came into the Holford Collection. While the van Dyck attribution no longer receives support, a wide range of van Dyck followers have been suggested such as William Dobson (Cust), Francesco Denys (Gilbert), Sir Peter Lely (Larsen) and an Italian follower of van Dyck (Millar).

A recent cleaning has revealed a hand on the right side of the chest that is evident in old photographs. Infra red light confirms and makes more obvious what is evident to the naked eye—that there is an unusual amount of disturbance under the present paint surface. A younger head is beneath the present one, with more hair. A larger, more elaborate, cape was wrapped around the man's shoulders. The drape that once hung behind the figure at the right was transformed into a rock wall by straightening the edge of the billowing cloth. These changes are contemporary with the creation of the painting and not later additions by restorers. They are also by the same, rather slapdash hand that painted the rest of the figure and the landscape. Such changes suggest that the portrait was originally bust or half length, the figure posed indoors, dressed in a cape with drapery in the background, and contained no suggestion of military activity. It is possible that the sitter wanted his portrait changed in later life, after achieving military fame and the canvas was lengthened, the landscape and armour added, while his mature features were painted over the earlier youthful image. There is even the possibility that two artists were involved in the transformation of the painting from a civil to a military portrait.

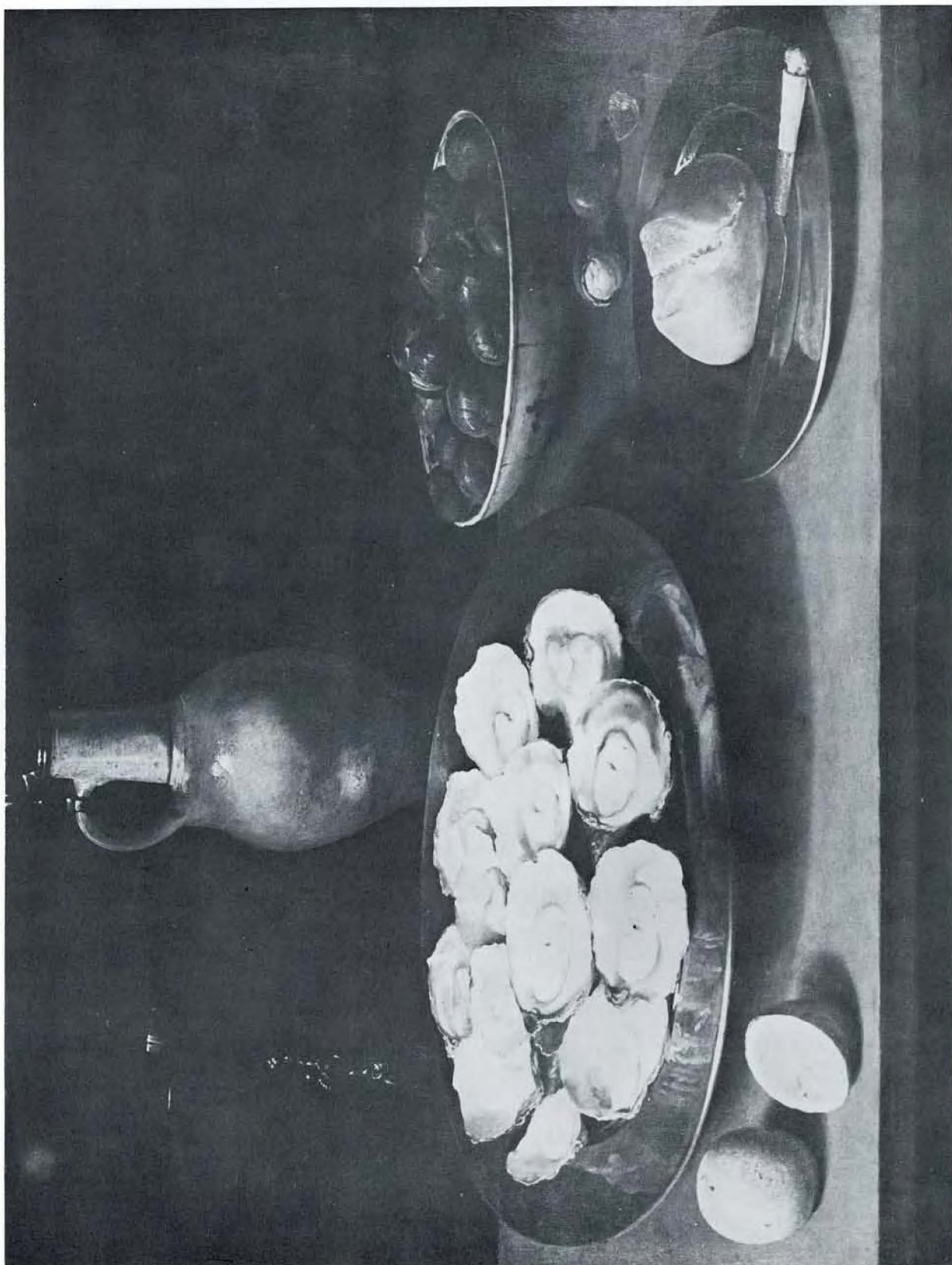
The armour and costume would date the portrait (at least the second stage) at around 1640-50.

Gerard Lemmens has identified the portrait as Prince Maurits of Nassau-Siegen, an important member of the House of Orange who was active in the Dutch military, Governor of the Dutch colony in Brazil (1636-1644) and a patron of Dutch and Flemish artists. Lemmens notes that the famous engraved portrait of Maurits of 1647 by Soutman after a painting by Honthorst bears a close resemblance to the Ringling portrait.

W.H.W.

15a. Infrared photograph





Jacob van Es

Antwerp, c. 1596 - Antwerp, 1666

16. *Still Life with Oysters* (SN 661)

Oil on panel;

21¼ x 29 (54 x 73.7 cm.)

Museum purchase, 1952

Inscriptions: Signed lower-left on edge of table: "JACO. VS" and monogrammed toward hilt area of knife blade: "VS"

Provenance: Count Edmund von Kesselstatt, Trier, 1844, inv. no. 27; Sale, Gallery Fischer, Lucerne, May 7-10, 1947, no. 1037, pl. 23; with Newhouse Galleries, N.Y.; purchased from Frederick Mont, N.Y.

Bibliography: **Ingvar Bergström**, "Lagous-van Es," *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning*, Monday, July 6, 1953, p. 3;
Ingvar Bergström, "Lagous—An Unknown French Still-Life Painter of the 17th Century," *Göteborgs Konstmusei Arstryck*, 1953, pp. 44-49;
Ake Fredsjo, "En konstnärssignatur och dess tolkning," *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning*, June 30, 1953.

Exhibitions: None

Bergström has read the signature on the table top as "Lagous" (see bibliography) and suggested that the Ringling still life and one (unsigned) in Göteborg is by a member of a French family of artists active at Angers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first letter of the signature is dotted at the top and should be read as "J", while the "G" read by Bergström is clearly a "C". There is a dot after the "O" indicating an abbreviation, all of which reads as "JACO". for "Jacobus". The "VS" stands for "Van" and "S", a simple rebus for "ES" (Fredsjo read the signature as "JAGO VS," which is quite close to our reading, see bibliography). Both Bergström and Fredsjo did not notice the "VS" monogram on the knife blade. Bergström weakened his reading of the signature as "Lagous" by suggesting that it might be either "Jagous" or "J.A. Gous". If indeed the signature is "Lagous", the Ringling and Göteborg still lives are the only surviving works by the Lagous family.

Even more important than the reading of the signature and the fact that van Es signed his name in a variety of forms, is the strong relationship the Ringling painting has to other van Es still lives, especially those at Oxford and Brussels, both of which contain oysters, oranges, bread and wine. The plate of oysters to the right in the Bussels still life is particularly close to the luscious shell fish tinged with pale blue in the Ringling panel.

According to Curtis Coley, the Ringling still life may have allegorical meaning with the juxtaposition of the orange of original sin and the oysters of lust, opposed to the plain bread and wine of the Eucharist. The walnuts in the Delft or Chinese bowl may, in this context, represent the wood of the cross (*lignum crucis*), the meat for the life which is revealed under it. Allegorical intent may account for the severe geometry of the painting, the objects sharply revealed against a plain dark grey background.

W.H.W.



Flemish Anonymous Seventeenth Century?

17. *Ecce Homo* (SN 504)

Oil on panel;
40½ x 35 (102.8 x 88.9 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: John Ringling
Bibliography: None
Exhibitions: None

This painting is a reverse copy after Rubens' *Ecce Homo* of ca.1612 in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. The artist probably used the engraving of the painting (in reverse) by Cornelis Galle.

It is not at all certain that the copy was made in the seventeenth century. There is a nineteenth century copy (not reversed) by Wouterus Mol in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam no. A272.

W.H.W.



Flemish Anonymous Seventeenth Century

18. *Abraham and Melchizedek* (SN 226)

Oil on copper;
20 x 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ (50.8 x 73 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: John Ringling
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 226 as Pupil of Peter Paul Rubens
(Perhaps Frans Francken III).
Exhibitions: None

This painting is a simplified version of Rubens tapestry *Abraham and Melchizedek*, the cartoon for which is in the Ringling Museum (no. 36). While Suida suggested the possibility of Frans Francken III, Antwerp, 1607 - Antwerp, 1667, it could also have been painted by Frans Wouters, Lierre, 1616 - Antwerp, 1659. The finely painted, shimmering drapery and soft upturned faces of the children are typical of Wouters. The composition was probably taken from one of the engravings made of the Eucharist series, rather than firsthand knowledge of the tapestry or the studies related to it.

W.H.W.



Flemish Anonymous Seventeenth Century

19. *The Rape of Europa* (SN 62)

- Oil on canvas;
19 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 28 (49.9 x 71.1 cm.)
J.R., 1936
- Inscriptions: None
- Provenance: John Ringling
- Bibliography: **W.E. Suida**,
"Forgotten Splendor in Titian's Treasury,"
Art in America, vol. 29, 1941,
pp. 12-13 as Flemish Painter of XVII Century
(Variant after Titian);
Suida, no. 62 as Variant after Tiziano Vecelli;
H. Wethey,
Titian: The Mythological and Historical Paintings,
vol. III, London, 1975,
p. 174, no. 7;
Peter Tomory,
Catalogue of the Italian Paintings before 1800,
The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art,
Sarasota, 1976,
no. 221 as After Titian.
- Exhibitions: None

The Rape of Europa is a variant of the painting by David Teniers II in the Art Institute of Chicago which is a copy of a lost Titian (engraved by Lucas Vorsterman, *Theatrum Pictorum*, 1959). In recent correspondence, Margret Klinge rejects an attribution to Teniers (the figures) and van Uden (landscape).
W.H.W.



20.



21.

Flemish Anonymous Early Eighteenth Century

20. *Winter Carnival* (SN 249)

21. *Winter Carnival* (SN 250)

SN 249: Oil on canvas;
29 x 53 (73.7 x 134.6 cm.)

SN 250: Oil on canvas;
29 x 53 (73.7 x 134.6 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, nos. 249-250 as Flemish Painter
of the Late XVII Century,
no. 249 *A Winter Carnival at Antwerp*,
no. 250 *On the Ice at Alkmaar*.

Exhibitions: None

These two lively, if battered, pendants illustrate the extraordinary interest in views of carnivals and other such activities on the frozen canals and rivers of the Netherlands and Flanders.

These works are similar to the large out-of-door scenes of peasant genre, showing markets and fairs, by Peter Angellis (1685-1734), a prolific Flemish painter.
F.W.R.



Follower of **Frans Floris**

Antwerp, 1516 - Antwerp, 1570

22. *Adoration of the Shepherds* (SN 207)

Oil on panel;

46 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 73 (118.1 x 185.4 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 207

Exhibitions: None

This good sixteenth century painting is a direct, detailed copy of the work by Frans Floris in the Galerie Nostitz, Prague (panel, 130.5 x 159 cm.), in Friedlaender, XIII, no. 125. Another copy of the Prague painting is in the Staatliche Museum, Schwerin; a closely related original is in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (Friedlaender, XIII, no. 124). Floris's monumental, classicizing style influenced many later sixteenth century artists; the fine quality of the present work is still visible through the thick varnish and areas of overpaint on the five, separated panels that make up the painting.
F.W.R.



Frans Francken II

Antwerp, 1581 - Antwerp, 1642

23. *The Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite* (SN 230)

Oil on panel;
13 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ (34.9 x 52.7 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist
on rock at the lower left:

"D of Franck in et. f./ Ao- 1631 Antv."

Provenance: H.A. Hammond Smith, New York;
American Art Association sale, New York, Jan., 1928,
no. 41;

John Ringling

Bibliography: **F. -C. Legrand**,
Les Peintres flamands de Genre au XVII siècle,
Brussels-Paris, 1963,
pp. 27-28, 38;

Exhibitions: Brussels, **Musées Royaux de Beaux-Arts de Belgique**,
Le Siècle de Rubens, Oct.-Dec., 1965, no. 86 (ill.).

This wonderfully energetic little painting is an example of Rubens's monumental High Baroque style miniaturized and made into a "cabinet" picture. Francken loved this particular episode, with its profusion of sea horses and sea gods and goddesses and the array of exotic shells on the beach; in many cases, he added gold dust as highlights to these and other stories taken from ancient history and mythology. A similar *Triumph*, dated 1607, in the Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, is more mannerist in its contrasts of figures in space, their proportions, and the flickering light and shadow, but the formula has, nevertheless, remained basically the same over the span of a quarter of a century.

At least a dozen variations of the theme exist, most notably those in the Palazzo Pitti, Prado and Göteborg.
F.W.R.



23a. Detail



23b. Frans Francken II
The Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite
Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire



24a. Detail

Studio of **Frans Francken II**
 Antwerp, 1581 - Antwerp, 1642

24. *Flemish Cabinet with Scenes From the Old Testament* (SN 1950)

Wood with ebony and tortoise veneer;

Overall size (closed) 27 1/4 x 28 x 13 1/2

(70.5 x 71.2 x 34.3 cm.);

14 painted doors, lid and drawers, oil on panel

Top lid: *The Finding of Moses*, 7 1/4 x 19 (18.4 x 48.3 cm.)

Left door: *David and Abigail* (Abigail Bringing Gifts to David)
 13 1/4 x 9 1/4 (33.7 x 24.7 cm.)

Right door: *Rebecca at the Well*, 13 1/4 x 9 1/4 (33.7 x 24.7 cm.)

Center door: *Hagar and Ishmael in the Wilderness*
 Irregular, 5 1/4 x 4 1/4 (14.5 x 12.1 cm.)

Drawers: from upper left to lower right;

each 2 1/4 x 7 1/4 (9.5 x 18.1 cm.)

The Expulsion of Hagar

Jacob's Ladder (The Dream of Jacob)

Baalam and the Ass

Jacob Wrestling with the Angel

Abraham and Isaac

Lot and His Daughters

Tobias and the Angel

Jonah and the Whale

Job on the Dung Heap

Ruth and Boaz

Provenance: Shickman Gallery, New York;

David Tunick, Inc., New York;

Museum purchase, 1974

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None



24.

Beginning late in the sixteenth century, painted Flemish cabinets such as the example from the Ringling Museum were popular exports from Antwerp studios, finding their way into collections throughout Europe, particularly in the Northern Netherlands. The cabinets, which were used for jewelry, important documents and other small treasures, are usually constructed with ebony and tortoise veneer having outer doors that open to a series of small drawers and a centralized cupboard which in the Ringling cabinet opens to a series of mirrors flanked with gilded columns, reflecting a black and white floor of inlaid squares. The mirrors create an illusionistic perspective of seemingly endless floor tiles. It was traditional to paint the doors, lids and drawers with either Biblical or mythological scenes in series. Two Flemish cabinets in the Rijksmuseum (NM 4189 and NM4190), attributed to Frans Francken II, are similar in structure to the Ringling example and show *Scenes from the Book of*

Genesis and *The Story of the Prodigal Son*. Another Flemish cabinet from the Andrew Graham Collection that is attributed to Hendrick van Balen, has scenes of classical lovers and is even closer in overall structure and cabinetry detail to the Ringling example and includes an almost identical cupboard with mirrors and black and white floor (Andrew Graham, "A Flemish Cabinet Painted by Van Dyck's First Master," *Connoisseur*, December, 1968, pp. 213ff.).

The painted panels from the Rijksmuseum and Graham cabinets are of higher quality than the Ringling panels, although the three larger paintings (the doors and lid) are from a hand superior to whoever painted the drawers and cupboard door.

Flemish painted cabinets are rare in America; no other examples are known to us in public collections.
 W.H.W.



Jan Fyt and others

Antwerp, 1611 - Antwerp, 1661

25. *Atalanta and Meleager Hunt The Calydonian Boar* (SN 236)

Oil on canvas;
96 x 162 (243.8 x 411.5 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist on rock, lower center:
"Joannes Fyt. F./1648"

Provenance: Ravensworth Castle sale, June 15, 1920, no. 49;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 236 as Jan Boeckhorst and Paul de Vos.

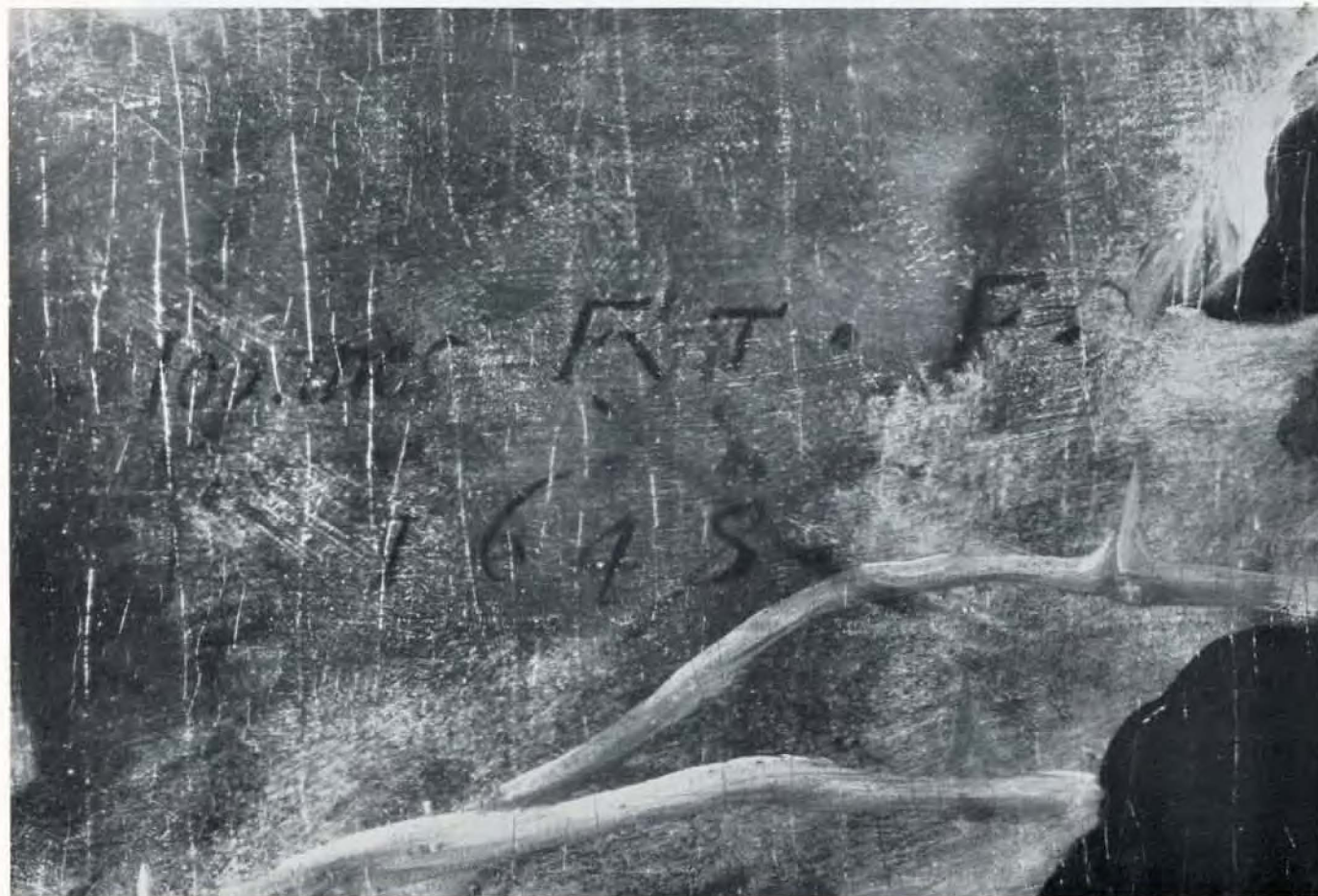
Exhibitions: None

This fine painting, signed and dated by Jan Fyt in 1648, is based on equally large and impressive prototypes executed by Rubens and studio assistants working with him. The animals here, which were the parts painted by Fyt himself, are strikingly close to a boar hunt (without human figures), signed and dated by Fyt in 1654, in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva; similar hunts were painted by Frans Snyders, Paul de Vos and Pieter Boel. The figures are clearly by another hand; the various members of the Rubens studio are difficult to disentangle, but it is possible that this second hand may be Jan van Boeckhorst (or Theodoor van Thulden). It is difficult to determine whether or not a third hand is responsible for the weak landscape. Thus, this work not only shows us the quintessentially Rubensian fusion of the classical and the High Baroque, it also demonstrates the complicated studio practice of the time, and the levels of quality possible within a single canvas.

During a visit to the museum in 1979, Hilla Robels suggested that Erasmus Quellinus may have painted the figures. She also noted that the landscape is rather Italianate, reflecting Fyt's visit to Italy (editor).

F.W.R.

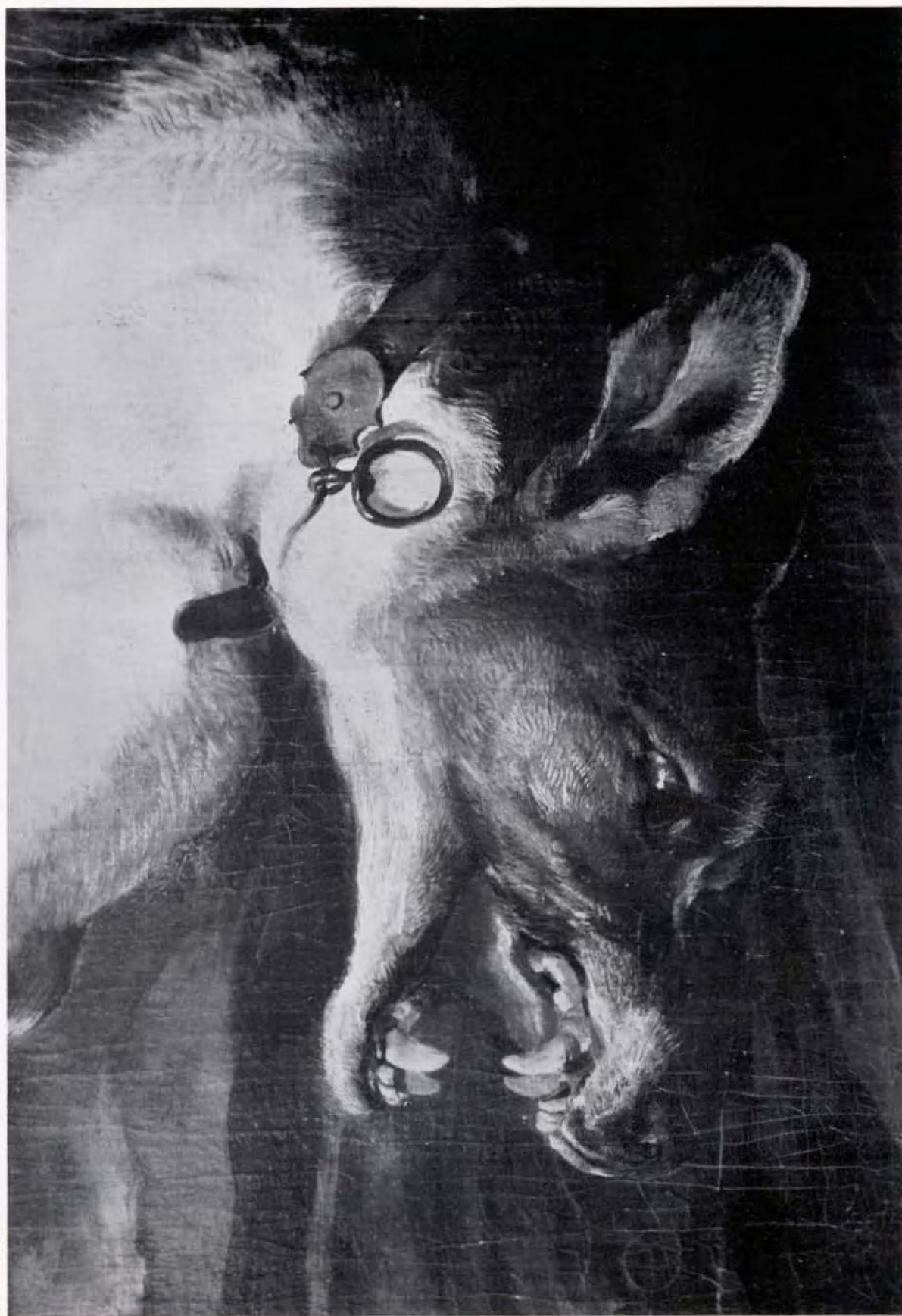
25a. Detail





25b. Detail

25c. Detail





Follower of **Jan Joseph Horemans I**
Antwerp, 1682 - Antwerp, 1759

26. *Old Woman Selling Fish* (SN 512)

Oil on panel;
23 x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ (58.4 x 48.2 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Annotated at the lower left:
"QB 1664"

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

Although the present work has been badly cleaned and overpainted, the theme of the fish vendor popularized by Gabriel Metsu, Quirin Brekelenkam and other painters of the 1650's is clearly the subject. The little boy on the right looks particularly close to the style of Jan Joseph Horemans; the work is probably from the early eighteenth century.
F.W.R.



Adriaen Isenbrant

Active Bruges, 1510-1551

27. *The Descent From the Cross* (SN 199)

- Oil on panel;
62 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 49 $\frac{1}{4}$ (158.1 x 125.1 cm.)
J.R., 1936
- Inscriptions: None
- Provenance: The Spanish Art Gallery, Feb., 1928;
Thomas Harris, London, 1928;
John Ringling.
- Bibliography: **M.J. Friedländer**,
Die altniederländische Malerei,
Berlin-Leiden, 1924-1937,
vol. XI, p. 134, pl. 66;
Thieme-Becker, XIX, p. 246;
Suida, no. 199;
Helene Demorlane,
"Le Maître de 1500"
Connaissance des Arts, June, 1969,
pp. 72ff.
- Exhibitions: None

Although the great painting school of Bruges lost some of its pre-eminence in the Netherlands to Antwerp in the early sixteenth century, a number of major Bruges masters still came out of the workshop of the great local painter Gerard David (active 1484-1523). None of David's pupils are documented with any certainty, but the largest number of important pictures after David's activity now are grouped under the name of the master to whom the Ringling picture is assigned: Adriaen Isenbrant. Documents reveal that Isenbrant became a master in Bruges in 1510, that he often

served as a master in the local painters' guild, and that he died in Bruges in July, 1551. He received much praise from early historians of Bruges and is singled out by them as the successor to David; for this reason most of the David-inspired later Bruges works are ascribed to his authorship in spite of the lack of any solid documentary connections with Isenbrant. Controversy still exists about the affinity of the Isenbrant group of pictures with paintings of almost-identical appearance that can be firmly documented as being the work of another, less-celebrated Bruges painter named Albert Cornelisz. (Friedländer, vol. XI, 53-5). Further research into the later Bruges school of painting may well reassign the Ringling picture and its relatives into the stable of a more well-defined individual than the elusive "Isenbrant". (The best assessment of the epoch after David in Bruges is given by G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson et la peinture à Bruges au temps du Charles Quint*, Damme, 1957; for Isenbrant documents, the basic source is R.A. Parmentier, "Bronnen voor de Geschiedenis van het Brugsche Schildersmilieu in de XVI^e eeuw. IX. Adriaan Isenbrant," *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, IX, 1939, 229-65).

What is certain about the Ringling picture is that it depends heavily on one of the finest pictures by Gerard David: the large *Deposition* in the Frick collection, New York. The Sarasota work is typical of the Isenbrant group of pictures in representing what Friedländer calls the "translation" of David's forms and composition into a softer and "prettier" ensemble. Indeed, David's own composition has a cold, crisp color scheme, mainly of blues and greens, whereas the Ringling Isenbrant imbues a rosier tone, particularly in the heavily-modeled faces of the mourners alongside Christ. This warm, deeply-shadowed modeling forms the very hallmark of the Isenbrant group. Characteristically, the skin tones of Isenbrant figures have an almost smoky, yet luminous indistinctness.

Isenbrant has retained exactly all of the main figures of David's Frick *Deposition*, and he has imitated most of the features of the background landscape. But in the far left distance, Isenbrant has included some characteristic features of his own: the cluster of piled-up mountain promontories, reminiscent of the rocky forms in landscapes by Joachim Patinir (d.1524). Similar mountains appear in the background of numerous works associated with Isenbrant, including the donor half of a diptych, the *Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* (Brussels, Royal Museum, datable to shortly after 1518), and the London *Mary Magdalene*. Each of these works shares the frequent Isenbrant predilection for a high horizon and great flat expanses into depth. All of these landscape elements—horizon, expanse, and promontories—seem to depend upon the example of Patinir, who spent most of his career in Antwerp but also had close ties to Bruges and the works of David (cf. R. Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, Princeton, 1968). The broadly-painted, unsightly dark washes of clouds, however, are unique to Isenbrant's works and appear to be a later addition.

The subject of the *Deposition* in Flemish devotional pictures of the fifteenth century has a considerable pedigree, highlighted by Roger van der Weyden's influential Prado *Deposition*, painted ca. 1440 for the archers' guild of Louvain. Although it is not a scene which receives much elaboration in the Gospels, the *Deposition* provides a perfect subject for a votive image, combining Gospel narration with the display of Christ's body, the image of His sacrifice.

L.S.

27a. **Gerard David**
The Deposition
The Frick Collection, New York





Imitator of **Jacob Jordaens**

Antwerp, 1593 - Antwerp, 1678

28. *The Family Concert*

(*Soo d'Oude Songen soo Pepen de Jonge*) (SN 241)

Oil on canvas;
45¼ x 66¼ (116.2 x 169.5 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: With Antigua Casa Laurent, Madrid;
according to Böhler, purchased by Ringling in
London for £400.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 241 as Jordaens.

Each figure in the family group is to be found in one or more of Jordaen's works. The composition itself is taken from his well-known *Family Concert* in Munich (no. 806). Like Teniers, Jordaens assembled compositions from "stock" figures and repeated favorite themes with variations; there are at least sixteen *Family Concerts* by Jordaens and many more that number by his followers and imitators, of which the Ringling Museum painting is typical.

"*Soo d'Oude Songen soo Pepen de Jonge*," is from a Flemish proverb that can be translated "As the old folk sing, so do the young folk pipe," or more simply, "Like father, like son."

W.H.W.

28a. **Jacob Jordaens**
The Family Concert
Alte Pinakothek, Munich





Baron Jan August Hendrik Leys

Antwerp, 1815 - Antwerp, 1869

29. *A Kitchen Scene* (SN 893)

Oil on panel;
22½ x 20 (57.2 x 50.8 cm.)
Gift of Mr. Harry Green

Inscriptions: Signed by the artist on the wall
to the left of the door frame: "HLeys fe"

Provenance: J. de Winter sale, Brussels, March 12, 1928, no. 64, ill.;
Harry Green.

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

The nineteenth century saw an outpouring of paintings in both Belgium and the Netherlands not only illustrating scenes from the early history of the Low Countries but also painted in a seventeenth century style, usually reminiscent of the late genre works of Jan Steen, Jan Vermeer, Pieter de Hooch, and Gabriel Metsu. For Belgian artists, this interest coincided with the birth of Belgium as an independent country early in the nineteenth century, its troubled and even violent relationship with the Netherlands, and the tensions between the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking communities within Belgium. Although Louis Gallait, Edouard de Bieffe, and other Belgian artists would paint scenes from sixteenth century Netherlandish history, it was even more common to find kitchen scenes by Baron Leys or seventeenth century village schools or village weddings by Ferdinand de Braekeleer. In his later years, Leys turned to more pretentious, historical recreations of particular events, personages, or places, such as *The Atelier of Frans Floris*, 1868, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Antwerp; however, in the 1830's and 1840's, he was attracted to the works of Steen and the Delft school.

The Ringling painting is probably from about 1837, although a similar model, shown sewing, appears in two works dated 1848 (sale, Brussels, Giroux, 5-5-1930, no. 52, and sale, The Hague, 7-3-1899, no. 76). The same young woman, plucking dead birds, is illustrated in an undated painting, formerly in the Musée Palais Tokyo, Paris.

F.W.R.



After **Quentin Massys**

Louvain, ca. 1465 - Antwerp, 1530

30. *Madonna with the Cherries* (SN 200)

Oil on panel;
29½ x 24¾ (74.9 x 62.9 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Possibly Mrs. Oliver H. Belmont,

Newport, Rhode Island;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 200;

Ingvar Bergström,

"Disguised Symbolism in

Madonna Pictures and Still Life,"

Burlington Magazine, vol. XCVII, Oct., 1955,
pp. 304ff;

A. de Bosque,

Quintin Metsys, Brussels, 1975,
no. 68.

Exhibitions: None

The first major painter of the city of Antwerp was Quentin Massys (active 1491-1530). During the period of Rubens a century later, Massys was a favorite of collectors and a patriarch to succeeding generations of Antwerp painters. The *Sarasota Madonna of the Cherries* is not a Massys original, but a copy of one of the master's final and greatest compositions. The original (?) picture was a prized possession during Rubens' day of one of Antwerp's leading collectors, Cornelis van der Geest. It can be seen as the featured centerpiece of his seventeenth century collection in the foreground of a "gallery picture" by Willem van Haecht (1628, Rubenshuis, Antwerp). Van der Geest's importance as both a patron of Antwerp artists and as a collector was considerable (cf. J. Held, "Artis pictoriae amator. An Antwerp Patron and his Collection," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, L, 1957, 53ff.; F. Baudoin, "'The Picture Gallery' of Cornelis van der Geest," *Petrus Paulus Rubens*, New York, 1977, 283-301, with bibliography), and van Haecht's gallery picture commemorates an alleged visit to van der Geest's collection in 1615 by the Spanish regents of Flanders, Albrecht and Isabella. According to a seventeenth century Massys biographer who tells the story in praise of his subject's fame, these regents tried to buy the Massys *Madonna of the Cherries* from a reluctant van der Geest. This scene is the focus of van Haecht's picture, and the painting as well as its admirers are prominently displayed in the left foreground.

From van Haecht's careful copying of the Massys, whose accuracy can be confirmed by comparing van Haecht's renditions of other, surviving pictures, we can determine that the Ringling picture is, indeed, a very careful and accurate copy of the Massys original in its own right. The greyish plum-colored dress, bright red mantle, and green sash of the Madonna, as well as the burgundy cushion and green curtain of the room correspond in all details with the van Haecht copy after Massys. Other details further serve to indicate careful replication. In particular, the marbleized throne with its delicate scroll acanthus trim on both the arm and headboard and a sculpted acolyte above its capital is an exact duplicate of the form seen within the van Haecht.

The continuing popularity of Massys' picture is attested to by numerous copies. Most of them correspond in their features with the Ringling Museum copy and further confirm its own accuracy. The fullest list of these other copies can be found in A. de Bosque, *Quintin Metsys*, Brussels, 1975, 221-32, where the major examples are to be found in the Ed-

wards collection, Cincinnati, in the Serlachius collection, Mantta, Finland, and in private collections in Hawksbury and Paris. A more ornate variant, which also reverses the positions of the apples and grapes and alters the colors of the Madonna's garments, is in the Mauritshuis, The Hague (on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; de Bosque, 222-4).

Sarasota's picture makes clear the predominant qualities of Massys' latest period, in all likelihood only a year or two before the painter's death in 1530. The glossy skin tones of the holy figures show an almost oily surface which characterizes a number of Massys' last dated works, such as the 1529 *Rattier Madonna* (Paris, Louvre). Also common to both works is the intimate kiss between Madonna and Child and the fine-featured, oval head of the Virgin. The chubby Infant of the Sarasota picture is younger and fleshier than the long-limbed Child of the *Rattier Madonna* but is quite close to other Massys types from the artist's final decade, such as the Rotterdam *Madonna with Milk Soup* or the Detroit *Madonna Outdoors*. Another close comparison to the motif of the Virgin Kissing her Child is Massys' late *Enthroned Madonna* (Berlin-Dahlem).

The physical intimacy and fullness of the forms of the Madonna and Child represent Massys' contribution during the 1520's to a new Flemish adoption of Italianate forms and gestures. The principal proponent of this shift was Jan Gossaert, in such works as his *Prado Madonna and Child* or his tender engraving of 1522. Gossaert was also a principal innovator in Flemish painting of Italianate architectural forms and ornament, as in his *Vienna St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*, which also contains another tender, yet full-bodied version of intimacy between the holy figures.

Another artist who inclined toward this new, Italianate style for the holy figures in paintings of the 1520's was Massys' younger colleague in Antwerp, Joos van Cleve (for a related discussion, cf. the Ringling *Nativity*, here attributed to Joos' son, Cornelis van Cleve, no. 10). Joos' chubby, curly-haired Child in his *Madonna of the Cherries* (Kansas City, Nelson Gallery) is one of the latest versions of this trend, probably dating from the 1530's. Moreover, its inclusion of the cherries, symbolic fruit of heaven (cf. I. Bergström, "Disguised Symbolism in 'Madonna' Pictures and Still Life," *Burlington Magazine* XCVII, 1955, 303-08, 342-9) is related to, and probably derived from, Massys' own composition.

The pose of the Madonna kissing the Child can be traced from previous works within the Flemish tradition. Dieric Bouts made a number of icons of the subject at half-length during the mid-fifteenth century (e.g. San Francisco, de Young Museum and New York, Metropolitan Museum), and he was followed in the early sixteenth century by Gerard David (*Holy Family*, formerly collection LeRoy, Paris). The same motif, however, was also well-established within the Italian tradition in the Pazzi relief of Donatello (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts) and in a series of paintings by the school of Leonardo da Vinci, particularly by Giampetrino. These Leonardo followers may well have depended upon a lost design of the master himself (cf. W. Suida, *Leonardo und sein Kreis*, Munich, 1929, 138). Quite possibly Massys was aware of both traditions, inasmuch as his own art often reveals familiarity with Leonardo drawings (cf. L. Silver, "Power and Pelf: A New-found *Old Man* by Massys," *Simiolus*, IX, 1977, 63-92). Given the lead of Gossaert, however, Massys' works of the 1520's, like the original of the Sarasota picture, reveal an effort to incorporate into his own paintings an Italianlike balance between sensuous physicality and full-bodied ideality, even if part of the inspiration for the motif might have come from local Flemish sources.



The Sarasota picture is clearly a copy after Massys' lost original and not that original itself. Despite its accuracy with the original in all details that can be gleaned from van Haecht and other copies, the Ringling picture nevertheless reveals a timidity and caution in its execution which can only be the hand of a copyist. In particular, the contours of the figures are carefully traced in a tightly-drawn outline, whose pencil design is especially noticeable around the facial features and Christ's hands and feet. Massys' preliminary drawings on a panel are usually invisible, and even when they can be dimly seen, they are sketchy rather than firm and insistent, as in the Ringling picture. Other details of the *Sarasota Madonna of the Cherries* diverge from authentic Massys traits. The landscape, visible out the window at the left, includes the tall, slender tree and hazy distance also found in the van Haecht work and other copies, but it uses a different color range and technique from Massys' other late landscapes. In the *Rattier Madonna* or the *Detroit Madonna Outdoors* (where a collaborator may have assisted Massys with the landscape), the artist colors his distances principally with darker greens and hazy blues on the horizon. In comparison, the Sarasota picture includes a light green base and a greyish distance which is uncharacteristic of Massys, though it is more akin to the habitual color tones of a later Antwerp painter, Marcellus Coffermans. Coffermans, whose *Lamentation* in Sarasota (no. 12) is a representative work, was an Antwerp painter noted for his dependence upon Massys and other earlier Flemish masters. The resemblance to Cofferman's technique might point to a date for the Massys copy in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. L.S.

12055) that is attributed to Petrus van Mol. Mol was born in Antwerp and might have studied with Rubens before he left for Paris where he remained until his death in 1650, achieving fame as Painter to the King and helping to found the Royal Academy of Painting.

The Ringling and Louvre heads are both of the same young model whose sensitive profile with downcast, unfocused eyes is placed against a dark background. The handling of paint is particularly similar around the eyes and in the structure of the gently curving hair. Both paintings may have been studies for the funerary chapel of the Estampes-Valencay families at the Church of the Carmelites in Paris that van Mol completed in 1636.

The Ringling Museum study was originally somewhat larger with the pages of a book appearing in the lower right hand corner plus the end of a thumb. While the painting is often identified as *St. John the Evangelist* because of the book, the simple collar might indicate that the head was a study for a young priest or acolyte. The Ringling "acolyte/priest" and the Louvre "bishop" would be appropriate for a funerary chapel.

W.H.W.



31a. Anthony van Dyck
Page of Head Studies after Rubens
Chatsworth Sketchbook
The British Museum, London

Attributed to **Petrus van Mol** Antwerp, 1599 - Paris, 1650

31. *Head of a Young Man* (SN 725)

Oil on paper mounted on wood panel;

16 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ (41.3 x 33.2 cm.)

Gift of Jacob Polak, 1960

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: With de Boer Gallery, Amsterdam;
Jacob Polak, Sarasota.

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: **De Boer's Winter Exhibition, 1956-57.**

Opinion concerning the Ringling Museum *Head of a Young Man* has been divided, with Burchard, Valentiner, Haverkamp-Begemann and Larsen tentatively accepting it as van Dyck and Norris, Tomory, Müller-Hofstede and Martin doubting the attribution. Those who favor van Dyck point out that the same head appears in the upper right hand corner of one of the pages in van Dyck's Italian "Chatsworth" sketchbook of 1620-1627 that is now in the British Museum and may have been sketched from a lost Rubens painting or drawing.

Recently, however, Held has noted the remarkable similarity of style between the Ringling head and the *Head of a Young Man* wearing a bishop's mitre in the Louvre (no.



31b. Petrus van Mol
Head of a Young Man
The Louvre, Paris



Imitator of **Bonaventura Peeters**

Antwerp, 1614 - Hoboken, 1652

32. *Two Ships on a Stormy Sea* (SN 286)

Oil on panel;

9½ x 15 (24.4 x 38.1 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 286 as Bonaventura Peeters.

Exhibitions: None

This is a copy or variation, in poor condition, of one of the many paintings by Peeters showing ships on a stormy sea.

F.W.R.





Attributed to **Frans Pourbus the Elder**
Bruges, 1545 - Antwerp, 1581

33. *Portrait of a Man* (SN 206)

Oil on panel;

14 x 22¼ (35.6 x 56.5 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Inscribed, upper right: "Ao 1564 (or 5)"

Provenance: Leger Gallery, London, 1930 as Anthonis Mor;
John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 206

Exhibitions: None

The indifferent condition of this panel painting (the edge of the face on the right, including the sitter's left eye, is especially badly damaged) and the great number of late sixteenth century Netherlandish portraits make the attribution of the work unusually difficult. Even though the painting was given to Anthonis Mor in 1930, Adriaen Thomasz. Key also produced many beautiful portraits of men in this format. Other possibilities include Ambrosius Francken I, Michiel Coxie, Nikolaus Neufchatel, and Willem Key. Aside from Adriaen Key, however, by far the most plausible candidate is Frans Pourbus the Elder, who would have been, however, just nineteen years old when he executed this work (if the blurred, strengthened inscription is to be believed). Certainly the man's clothes are typical of the 1560's. A portrait of Jacob de Moor attributed to Pourbus, in the Mittelrhein Museum, Koblenz, is particularly close in size and format. Another portrait of an unknown man given to the artist, in the Hermitage, Leningrad, is also similar to the Ringling painting.

F.W.R.



Peter Paul Rubens

Siegen, 1577 - Antwerp, 1640

34. *Portrait of the Archduke Ferdinand* (SN 626)

Oil on canvas;
45½ x 37 (116.2 x 94 cm.)
Museum Purchase, December, 1948

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Purchased by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1771 for 100 guineas;
The Earl of Upper Ossory;
Robert Vernon, First Baron Lyveden;
The Hon. Greville Richard Vernon;
purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1898, Dover House,
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with Knoedler, N.Y.

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II, p. 556, repr., p. 557;
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P.P. Rubens, (Klassiker der Kunst), Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1906,
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34a. Detail



34b. **Peter Paul Rubens**
Modello for *The Archduke Ferdinand*
at the Battle of Nördlingen
The Art Institute of Detroit

The state portrait of the *Archduke Ferdinand* is a magnificent example of Rubens' late portrait style and the first purchase made by the Ringling Museum (in 1948) after John Ringling's death in 1936.

When handsome, blond Ferdinand sat for his portrait in 1635, he was twenty six years old, an important member of the Hapsburg Dynasty (his brother was King Philip IV of Spain), a cardinal since the age of ten and a successful general having routed the Swedes at the Battle of Nördlingen in 1634. The Pope had made him a "Defender of the Faith" in the belief that he would lead the Counter-Reformation forces to victory over the armies of Protestantism. When he painted Ferdinand, Rubens was fifty eight, one of the most famous artists of Europe, a successful diplomat knighted by the Kings of Spain and England and a grand seigneur living in a splendid Antwerp townhouse. He was also at the height of his artistic prowess, creating rich, powerful paintings with a bravura brushstroke reminiscent of the late Titian whose works he had admired since his trips to Italy and Spain, early in his career. Within six years, both Rubens (1640) and Ferdinand (1641) were dead.

Ferdinand and his family were important people in Rubens' life. The Archduchess Isabella, Ferdinand's aunt, had been Rubens' patroness for many years. When Ferdinand arrived in Antwerp in 1635, fresh from his military victories and ready to assume the governorship of his aunt who had died in 1632, the city honored him with a grand triumphal entry which was designed by Rubens who supervised the execution of complex temporary arches and facades lauding the Archduke-Governor. The two full-length portraits of Ferdinand made for the triumphal entry were painted before Rubens and the Archduke met. The surviving painting, by J. van den Hoecke, was retouched by Rubens after the triumphal entry (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Ferdinand is shown wearing black armour, a red sash, soft felt "governor's hat," a sword with an elaborate hilt and carrying a field marshal's baton. He wears essentially the same costume in the life-sized equestrian portrait at the Battle of Nördlingen that is in the Prado, a modello for which is in the Detroit Art Institute, and the Ringling three-quarter length portrait. In each of the three portraits, Ferdinand is seen as a

handsome, gracious, humanistic prince-general, a harbinger of a bright future for Catholic Europe. Such an image would have been especially popular with the citizens of Antwerp who saw in their new governor a Baroque Apollo, the ray of hope that would dispell years of political confusion and economic decay. The head and upper body of Ferdinand in the equestrian portrait are very close to the Ringling version. It is reasonable to assume that Rubens painted Ferdinand in his studio and that the Ringling portrait was the result of their meeting. Rubens then used the Ringling portrait as the basis for the equestrian battle portrait.

The Ringling Archduke Ferdinand is an important example of the European state portrait, a tradition that developed in the Renaissance and formalized by Titian whose imposing images of military princes such as *Francesco Maria della Rovere* in the Uffizi and *King Philip II of Spain* in the Prado were such an influence on later baroque state portraits, especially those by Rubens. The portrait of Ferdinand, however, is less warlike than any of Titian's prince-generals. The Archduke's steel battle helmet has been put aside and replaced with the black felt hat of the governor. His right hand rests on the field marshal's baton while his left rests casually on his hip and raises a red sash to reveal the hilt of a sword. The governor's hat is thus seen in contrast with the baton and sword of the general, perhaps to suggest Ferdinand's dual role in peace and war. To the left is a column symbolic of strength while at the right is a section of drapery, a faint reminder of the ruler's baldachin, or state canopy.

Ferdinand's face is smoothly painted in contrast to the quick slashes of highlight and color found in the sash, armour, drapery and background. A similar three-quarter, state portrait, of *The Earl of Arundel* painted in 1630, from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, also has the figure in armour with a helmet on a nearby table. Unfortunately, the armour and drapery were repainted in the nineteenth century, marring the once fluent brushwork, while the armour in the Ringling Ferdinand has been compared to the brilliantly painted fishscales in Titian's *Rape of Europa*, also in the Gardner Museum.

W.H.W.



Peter Paul Rubens and Studio
Siegen, 1577 - Antwerp, 1640

35. *The Gathering of the Manna* (SN 211)

Oil on canvas;
 192 x 162 (487.7 x 411.5 cm.)

36. *Abraham and Melchizedek* (SN 212)

Oil on canvas;
 175 1/4 x 224 1/4 (445.1 x 570.9 cm.)

37. *The Four Evangelists* (SN 213)

Oil on canvas;
 173 x 176 (435.4 x 447 cm.)

38. *The Defenders of the Eucharist* (SN 214)

Oil on canvas;
 171 x 175 (434.3 x 444.5 cm.)
 J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, Palace, Brussels;
 Church of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns, Loeches
 (after 1649);
 taken from the convent, c. 1808 by G. Wallis,
 on behalf of W. Buchanan;
 purchased by Bourke, Danish Plenipotentiary at Madrid
 and sold by him in 1818 to Robert, Earl Grosvenor,
 1st Marquess of Westminster,
 Grosvenor House, London for £10,000;
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 189; 15d, plate 198.

Exhibitions: None



35a. Detail



35b. **Peter Paul Rubens**
Bozzetto for *The Gathering of the Manna*
Los Angeles County Museum of Art

The Gathering of the Manna, Abraham and Melchizedek, The Four Evangelists and The Defenders of the Eucharist are among seven surviving cartoons for the eleven tapestry cycle *The Triumph of the Eucharist* that was designed by Rubens between 1625-1627 for the Governess of the Netherlands, the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia. The tapestries were donated by Isabella to the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid (The Royal Order of the Discalced Carmelites) where they still hang in the chapel for which they were made. Another set is in Cologne Cathedral. Each complete set of tapestries is comprised of twenty pieces since there are, besides the eleven *Triumph of the Eucharist* scenes, a narrower group of five tapestries forming one composition of heavenly and earthly rulers accompanied by angels, plus four minor border pieces.

The other three surviving cartoons for *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle include *Elijah and the Angel* and *The Triumph of Faith* both in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes on loan from the Louvre and *The Triumph of Divine Love (Caritas)* which is with Christopher Gibbs Limited, London and currently under consideration for purchase by the Ringling Museum. Four of the cartoons perished in a fire at the Archducal Palace in Brussels during the night of February 3-4, 1731 (*The Sacrifice of the Old Covenant, The Triumph of the Church, The Eucharist Overcoming Pagan Sacrifice and The Victory of Truth Over Heresy*).

The Triumph of the Eucharist as a theme for artists and writers was a powerful weapon in the Counter Reformation battle against the Protestant heretics. There could have been more specific reasons, however, for the commissioning of the cycle, in that Isabella may have wished to give thanks for the great Catholic victory at Breda on June 11, 1625 and also that the Eucharist was especially revered by the Carmelite Nuns at the Descalzas Reales Convent in Madrid where the Archduchess spent eight months as a child and where the tapestries were to hang.

Rubens designed the eleven large scenes of the Eucharist cycle into a coherent, unified panorama through the double illusion of fictive tapestries hung within an architectural setting—tapestries within tapestries. He achieved further unity by organizing his magnificently costumed figures as though they were cast in a four act opera composed as: four Old Testament prefigurations (including the Ringling *The Gathering of the Manna* and *Abraham and Melchizedek*), two allegorical victories of the Sacrament over paganism and heresy, two groups of figures announcing and defending the Eucharist (the Ringling *Four Evangelists* and *Defenders of the Eucharist*) and for the final act three triumphal processions.

Three other tapestry cycles were designed by Rubens: *The History of Decius Mus* in 1617, *The History of the Emperor Constantine*, 1622-1623 and *The History of Achilles*, c. 1630-1635 (note the Ringling Museum modello of *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, SN 221, no. 39 that was made for *The History of Achilles* cycle). Like the other three cycles, the Eucharist tapestries are developed in a highly theatrical fashion, with figures frozen at the high point of action in dramatic tableaux vivants. There are, however, important differences between the Eucharist cycle and the other three cycles of tapestries. The theme of *The Triumph of the Eucharist* was chosen as a means of defending church dogma against heretics and as a result contains fairly static action, allegorical figures (especially in the triumphs) and claustrophobic space with the cast of over-lifesized figures crowding down to the "footlights", as close as possible to the viewer, effectively blocking any real view into space.

The other three tapestry cycles recount the major events in the lives of famous historical and mythical heroes and therefore need identifiable "historic" locations and props plus more defined space. Rubens' sense of Baroque theatre and spectacle in the Eucharist cycle is unparalleled, except perhaps for Bernini's unification of grandiose sculpture and architecture at St. Peter's.

The fact that Rubens made full scale cartoons for the weavers in the oil medium on canvas is rather unusual Baroque studio practice. Normally, tapestry cartoons were executed in tempera (a waterbased medium) on large sheets of paper that were glued onto canvas. Raphael's tapestry cartoons in the Victoria and Albert Museum are perhaps the most famous examples of the tempera on paper medium. The Ringling tapestry cartoons in tempera on paper attributed to Willeboirts Bosschaert are also typical Baroque examples (SN 222 and SN 223). The Eucharist cartoons are unique among the four tapestry cycles in that Rubens used oil on canvas rather than tempera on paper. As with the other three Rubens tapestry cycles, the Eucharist commission follows usual Baroque studio practice in the use of bozzetti (oil sketches), small in scale and undetailed that provided the patron with a rough idea of how the complete commission would look. Once the bozzetti were approved by the patron, the master, sometimes with the assistance of studio artists would prepare modelli (models), larger in scale but smaller than the final work with more color and detail incorporating any changes from the bozzetti stage. Occasionally, full scale cartoons were made, especially when there was a commission for tapestries. Bozzetti are usually painted by the master himself, while the modelli, cartoons and final work normally have varying amounts of involvement divided between the master and studio assistants, depending on the importance and size of the commission.

The Gathering of the Manna, like the other tapestries in the Eucharist Cycle, is conceived as a tapestry hung between columns, which are, in this case, a bastardized, composite form with Ionic capitals and twisted shafts, so-called "Solomonic columns", derived from the Temple of Solomon. Such columns have been common language in art and architecture since early Christian times, the most famous example being Bernini's gigantic gilded bronze columns for the Baldachino in St. Peter's. The tapestry within a tapestry is suspended from the top center of the composition, wrapped around the support ropes and spilled over the bottom apron of the "stage". The spectator's viewpoint is below as in all of the series to emphasize the ultimate location of the tapestry above the worshipper in the convent chapel (see Scribner, "Sacred Architecture . . ." for a reconstruction of the original hanging, location, sequence, etc.). Small beads of manna rain from heaven to the amazement of Moses, a powerful and commanding figure who stands at the right gesturing (in thanks?) toward heaven. Since the tapestry cartoons are reversed so the weavers could work from the back side of each tapestry, Moses holds the rod in his left hand. He is balanced by a female Israelite, quoted from Raphael, her nude sturdy arms and back supporting an overflowing basket of manna. Other Israelites busily gather the life-sustaining manna which is a prefiguration of the bread/body of Christ in the Eucharist of the New Testament.

The bozzetto for *The Gathering of the Manna* is in Bayonne, Musée Bonnat and the Modello in Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

The bread of the Eucharist appears again as an Old



Testament prefiguration in *Abraham and Melchizedek* where the victorious general Abraham is welcomed by the High Priest Melchizedek and offered bread and wine for the refreshment of the exhausted Israelite army. Again the scene is framed between columns (bastardized Doric) on a fictive tapestry held aloft by three putti. A garland of fruit hangs through metal rings and decorates the top edge. Bunches of grapes from the garland are placed conspicuously over Abraham's head in reference to the wine/blood of Christ in the New Testament Eucharist. Large, gold vases of wine are brought into the scene from below right by muscular bearers, one of whom glares directly at the audience, a common Baroque device to engage the spectator. The High Priest Melchizedek is placed at the top of a flight of steps as though he was a Christian priest serving mass from a raised altar. Abraham reaches for the bread a few steps below Melchizedek as if he were a member of a Christian congregation

receiving the bread of the Eucharist. Young boys pass out bread to the Israelite troops, perhaps to suggest the function of acolytes distributing the wafer during the Mass. There may also be a reference here to the Catholic army celebrating a victory mass after the Battle of Breda in June of 1625. Iconographic considerations aside, *Abraham and Melchizedek* is one of the most dynamic of the eleven Eucharistic cycle tapestries with surging figures approaching the center of the composition creating a highly dramatic focus on the figures of the two protagonists, their bodies and hands reaching toward each other, symbolizing the mystic unity between the Old and New Testaments.

The bozzetto for *Abraham and Melchizedek* is in Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum; the first modello is in Madrid, the Prado, the second, incorporating changes necessitated by changes in the location of the tapestry in the convent chapel, in Washington, the National Gallery of Art.





36a. Detail



36c. Detail

36d. **Peter Paul Rubens**
Modello for Abraham and Melchizadek
The Prado, Madrid



36e. **Peter Paul Rubens**
Modello for Abraham and Melchizadek
The National Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C.



In *The Four Evangelists*, the idea of Baroque theatre is reinforced by the way in which Rubens has suggested that the Evangelists are walking across the stage apron, entering from stage left and exiting stage right. A shadow is cast by the twisted column at the right onto the tapestry from behind the figures as though it is but a few feet behind them acting as a stage drop. The processional quality of the Evangelists/actors is enhanced by the subtle turning of their heads, John is seen de face, Matthew in profile, Mark from behind and Luke again de face. The putti and garlands of fruit are similar to those elements seen in *Abraham and Melchizedek*. The concept of Divine Inspiration is given centre stage with the Angel of St. Matthew gesturing toward heaven and pointing to the book that he holds. The eagle of St. John swoops down from the fly space above the proscenium to our right, while the Bull of St. Luke and St. Mark's Lion exit off stage to our left. The dolphin, shell and cornucopia that decorate the face of the stage apron are symbolic of the widespread influence of the Four Evangelists across the earth and the seas. The solid, monumental figures of the Evangelists, wrapped in flowing, twisting robes are reminiscent of Masaccio's early Renaissance saints from the Brancacci Chapel in Florence as well as Dürer's *Four Apostle* panels in Munich.

The bozzetto for *The Four Evangelists* is in Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum, while the modello is in Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire, the Collection of Mrs. Dent-Brocklehurst.

The fourth Ringling cartoon, *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, does not stress the illusionistic qualities to the extent shared by the other three where the tapestry within a tapestry idea is clearly stressed. Even though there are shadows cast at the top of the "tapestry" where it is held by putti and decorated with fruit garlands, the bottom of the "tapestry" is not shown, with the edge of the "stage" defined by architecture instead. Composite Doric columns again frame the scene.

Seven Saints, including the four Latin Doctors of the Church, progress with great dignity from right to left, their heads seen in different views in a fashion similar to the heads of the Four Evangelists. The Dove of the Holy Ghost hovers protectively over the saints in the very centre of the composition emitting golden light that illuminates the procession. Above the dove, a putto holds two trumpets to herald the message of the Church Fathers. Leading the procession are Sts. Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory the Great, all wearing elaborate gold copes embroidered with scenes of God the Father, The Resurrection and Christ Blessing the World. The first two are crowned with bishops' mitres, while the third wears the papal tiara. In the centre of the procession, St. Clare carries a monstrance and looks directly out at the viewer. It is clear that Rubens has shown his patroness, the Archduchess Isabella, as St. Clare garbed in the black and white habit of the Discalced Carmelites, clothes she wore at the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid when she was a girl and later as a widow after her husband the Archduke Albert had died in 1621. St. Clare/Isabella is followed by St. Thomas Aquinas, a large book in his arm wearing a gold chain from which is hung a blazing sun. Behind Aquinas is a monk in a white habit who is probably St. Norbert. Last in line is St. Jerome the fourth Doctor of the Church dressed in red as a cardinal, intensely reading from a large book. In the center of the bottom of the composition, below the apron of the "stage", is a burning lamp (the Lamp of Truth?), open books and writing supplies of ink pots and quill pens, all in reference to the writings of the Church Fathers.

All seven saints were especially known as defenders of the Eucharist, particularly the four Doctors of the Church who developed the doctrine of transubstantiation and defended it against heretics.

The bozzetto for *The Defenders of the Eucharist* is in Cambridge, the Fitzwilliam Museum, while the modello is in Madrid, the Prado.





38a. Detail



38c. Peter Paul Rubens
Bozzetto for *The Defenders
of The Faith*
The Prado, Madrid



38b. Detail

Paintings as large as the four Rubens tapestry cartoons normally suffer more than smaller, more easily transportable works. In their travels between Antwerp, Brussels, Spain, England and finally Sarasota, Florida where they arrived in 1927, they had been rolled and unrolled, stretched and unstretched, numerous times. The lack of air conditioning in the Ringling Museum until the late 1950's also took its toll. The cartoons were fortunate in having been restored to at least a good approximation of their former splendor by Edward O. Korany who undertook the monumental task of cleaning, stabilizing, inpainting and relining the canvases between 1954 and 1958. They have remained in an air conditioned, moisture free environment ever since.

Critical opinion concerning the amount of Rubens' involvement in the creation of the cartoons is naturally dependent on the practices of his studio in the execution of such a large and complex commission and their condition when viewed. Scholars who commented on the cartoons prior to 1958 were seeing them through veils of grime and repaint, or making judgements solely on early, pre-restoration, black and white photographs. Among Rubens scholars who have seen the cartoons at the Ringling Museum after their restoration are Held, Haverkamp-Begemann and Jaffé. Nora de Poorter has worked with recent black and white photographs.

During the restoration process, Korany noted that "After the cleaning, the workshop routine in producing these cartoons became clearly evident. Sparing a margin along the inner contour of the architectural framework and/or overlapping of it by compositional elements of the narrative theme, prove that the surround of the 'tapestry within a tapestry' was painted by a specialist before the painting was taken up for the main 'filling in.'" Korany also felt that the cartoon (*The Finding of the Manna*) showed evidence of great haste, with lack of detail and unfinished areas. He remarked that "Several widely dispersed spots had a particularly rough texture and reveal more of the gray priming as if the still tacky paint had stuck together when the painting was folded for the transport to the weaver's shop." In discuss-

ing Rubens' technique of sketching in paint, Michael Jaffé wrote that "Sketching within his pupil's canvas, Ruben gave a finishing touch to *The Gathering of the Manna*, mostly painted by his assistants." He was particularly impressed by the economy of stroke evident in the female figure crouching behind Moses, her skirt held out to catch the falling manna. Haverkamp-Begemann was impressed by the "extremely fine" quality of the Eucharist cartoons and noted "many touches by Rubens especially in developing the highlights to enliven the forms already modeled." He singled out *The Finding of the Manna* noting the blonde hair of the girl in the background as a good example. It is clear that *The Gathering of the Manna* has a large amount of pentimenti and more fluid brushwork than is evident in the other three cartoons, which would indicate that Rubens himself gave the work a "finishing" touch.

During a visit to the museum in 1959, Walter Friedlaender remarked that *Abraham and Melchizedek* was "... mostly by his (Rubens) own hand, very good and impressive ... astonishing and very wonderful, a damn good painting. Excellent cleaning." On the other hand, he felt that *The Gathering of the Manna* had "perhaps a little work by Rubens". This writer would agree with Friedlaender to the extent that there is noticeable evidence of Rubens' hand in the *Abraham and Melchizedek*, especially in the faces of the central protagonists and their entourages. Like the other cartoons in the Eucharist cycle, however, the architectural framework, putti, still life elements, animals and the fictive tapestries themselves, are executed by studio hands. In defense of the studio, it should be added that the garlands of fruit in all of the cartoons and the still life of writing equipment in *The Defenders of the Eucharist* are particularly fine.

It seems pointless to argue over how much of Rubens' touch is present in the Eucharist cartoons and where that touch may be found. The fact remains that the tapestries themselves and the cartoons created by Rubens and his talented studio artists as part of the creative process, are glorious reflections of the golden age of Baroque culture. W.H.W.



Peter Paul Rubens

Siegen, 1577 - Antwerp, 1640

39. *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* (SN 221)

Oil on panel;
43 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 35 $\frac{1}{16}$ (109 x 89.5 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Daniel Fourment, Antwerp, until June, 1643;
Peter Fourment, Antwerp, until April 28, 1653;
Gerard van der Strecken, Jan van Leefdael,
Hendrick Lenaerts, Brussels;
Kings of Spain;
Dukes of Infantado, Madrid
(inventory Pastrana c. 1753-1800, as
La noche cuando immortalizaron a Aquiles),
until November 27, 1841;
Duke of Pastrana, Madrid;
Duchess of Pastrana, Madrid;
Comunidad de las Religiosas del Sagrado Corazón
de Jesús, Madrid, c. 1887;
Emile Pacully Sale, Georges Petit, Paris, May 4, 1903,
no. 28 (pl. XXVI);
John E. Stillwell Sale, Anderson Galleries, N.Y.,
December 1-3, 1927,
no. 224 (repr.), purchased by Kleinberger Galleries
for William R. Hearst, N.Y.;
returned by Hearst to Kleinberger, 1929,
in payment for another painting;
purchased from Kleinberger by John Ringling,
February 15, 1930.

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III, Antwerp, 1886-1892, p. 40
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E. Müntz, P. Leprieur,
Collection Pacully,
Paris, c. 1902, pp. 14-15, pl. 27;
P. Lafond,
*Cartons de Rubens pour la suite de tapisseries de
l'Histoire d'Achille, Réunion des Sociétés de
Beaux-Arts des Départements*,
XXVI, 1902, pp. 236-237, pl. 26 (as Rubens);
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II, 1903, pp. 122-123,
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the rest);
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Madrid, 1907, p. 79;
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L. Van Puyvelde,

Skizzen des Peter Paul Rubens,

Frankfort, 1939, p. 94 (as a workshop replica);

W.R. Valentiner,

"Rubens' Paintings in America" *The Art Quarterly*,
IX, 1946, p. 164, no. 114

(as studio of Rubens);

J.-A. Goris, Julius S. Held,

Rubens in America,

New York, 1947, p. 53, no. A. 78

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Suida, no. 221;

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*Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Works by
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London, 1950, p. 16, no. 13;

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Exhibitions:

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39a. **Peter Paul Rubens**
Bozzetto for *Achilles Dipped
into the River Styx*
The Museum Boymans-van Bueningen,
Rotterdam

The Ringling *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* is a modello from *The History of Achilles*, which was the last of the four tapestry commissions designed by Rubens. *The History of Decius Mus* was designed in 1617, *The History of the Emperor Constantine*, 1622-23, *The Triumph of the Eucharist*, 1625-28 and *The History of Achilles* from (according to Haverkamp-Begemann) after 1630 to no later than about 1635, about five years before Rubens died. *The History of Achilles* is a comparatively small project in comparison with the other three series and was created with the least complex working procedures. Nevertheless as Haverkamp-Begemann puts it in the introduction to his excellent study of the series in the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, part X, "... the excellence of the oil sketches and the modelli, and the sophistication of the artist's interpretation of the subject, make the series stand out as a major work." (See bibliography.)

In developing the tapestry commission, Rubens employed common Baroque studio practice by first creating oil sketches (bozzetti) for the patron's approval, then larger modelli based on the oil sketches that were used by the studio assistants in the creation of full-sized cartoons from which the weavers worked, in reverse. Of the eight oil sketches, seven are in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam and one in the Detroit Art Institute. The eight modelli are more scattered with three in the Prado, two in the Seilern Collection, London, two in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau and one in the Ringling Museum. The eight cartoons vanished at sea in 1660 on their way to Spain. Although the last complete set of eight tapestries woven from the cartoons was broken up in 1931, four from the first edition survive in the Ducal Palace in Vila Vicosa, Portugal. A tapestry of *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* from a later seventeenth century edition by J. Raes is in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Spain.

In the design of the tapestries, Rubens was not working from an established visual tradition since the concept of depicting the life of Achilles from early youth to death in eight episodes was the first time since classical antiquity that the theme had received such unified treatment. His literary source for the life of Achilles as found in Homer's *Iliad* was most likely Conti's *Mythologiae* first published in 1551 and Estienne's *Dictionarium historicum* of 1553.

The Ringling modello is for the first tapestry in the series and shows Achilles' mother Thetis plunging the baby head first into the River Styx as protection against the prophecy that he would "... end his days in the first flowering of his youth." The last tapestry in the series shows Achilles dying from an arrow that pierced his foot, the only area of his body left unprotected when Thetis dipped him into the Styx. One of the three Fates (Lachesis?) illuminates the bat-infested gloom with a flaming torch while the three-headed dog Cerberus, guardian of hell, lies in the foreground. In the

distance naked souls plead for Charon to transport them to a flaming city across the Styx. The complex illusionistic architecture used as borders in the Eucharist tapestries a few years earlier has been reduced to a pair of male and female terms (Hades and his wife Persephone) that frame the scene as though part of a theatre proscenium, the actors in a tableau vivant behind.

Haverkamp-Begemann has firmly established the fact that the Achilles series was commissioned by Daniel Fourment, Rubens' father-in-law and not Charles I of England or Philip IV of Spain as supposed in earlier literature. According to a company inventory of 1643, the tapestry firm of Fourment owned the tapestries, the oil sketches and probably also the modelli.

The eight oil sketches have traditionally been accepted as coming totally from Rubens' own hand. Opinion concerning his involvement with the modelli, however, has been divided. In 1890 Rooses suggested that the modelli were painted by Theodor van Thulden and retouched by Rubens, an opinion that was later modified with the substitution of Erasmus Quellinus for van Thulden. Valentiner agreed with Rooses that an assistant painted the modelli that were retouched by Rubens but did not name the assistant. Burchard believed that Rubens alone painted the modelli. Haverkamp-Begemann's analysis of Rubens' involvement in the *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx* is worth quoting in full:

"The visible surface of this modello seems largely the work of Rubens himself. Pentimenti in various areas indicate that the first stage of the modello resembled the oil sketch more closely than the final version. Thus the silhouette of the term at the right and the drapery of Lachesis first were virtually identical with the corresponding sections of the oil sketch, the same applies to the capital resting on the fruit basket above the left term, and the borderline of her costume over her shoulder. Some details, like the bats in the sky have been redefined. If these corrections were made by Rubens in a design transferred by an assistant (Van Thulden?) from the oil sketch, as seems likely, most of the surface may be considered Rubens' work. The background figures, the mountains, much of the term at the left probably is uncorrected assistant's work. Clearly recognizable is Rubens' hand also in details like the fire in the sky at the left and the light emanating from the torch, and the heads of the dogs." (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, vol. X, pp. 98-99).

There are paint losses along a crack caused by the joining of two panels in the center of the painting. The most noticeable areas of repaint are across Thetis' neck (most of her pearls are gone), down her left arm and vertically through the baby's body.

W.H.W.



Peter Paul Rubens and Studio (figures)

Siegen, 1577 - Antwerp, 1640;

Osias Beert the Elder (flowers)

Antwerp, c. 1580 - Antwerp, 1624

40. *A Scholar Inspired by Nature* (SN 219)

Oil on canvas;
80 x 76½ (203.2 x 194.3 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Sir Gregory Page, Wicklemarsh, Blackheath, Kent, died 1775;
Sir Gregory Page-Turner;
Mr. Van Heythusen;
Welbore Ellis Agar, Esq., Sale,
Christie's, May 2, 1806, 1,000 guineas;
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London, 1830, no. 777;
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Flowers: Variations on a Theme, 1953, no. 27.

Rubens' monumentally conceived painting of a handsome young couple seated in a landscape of glorious flowers has captured the imagination of all who have seen it. The so-called "Pausias and Glycera" is one of the most famous paintings in the Ringling Museum and has been described in glowing terms by scholars since John Smith first wrote about it in 1830. While Smith's twelve volumes on Dutch, Flemish and French painting is often dismissed as relatively worthless to modern scholarship, except for information concerning provenance, his description in this case merits close attention, especially in light of what has been written in the intervening one hundred and fifty years. He identifies the painting as "Portraits of the Artist and His First Wife. They are represented sitting on a bank; Rubens has his left arm on her shoulder, and his right hand holds a folio upon its edge; it appears, by his attitude, that he is directing the lady's attention to some distant object; a vase and a basket containing flowers are by the side of the lady. These accessories and the landscape are attributed to the pencil of Brueghel." (See bibliography.)

There is general agreement that the painting was made sometime between 1612 and 1615 and that the young man and woman are clearly not portraits of Rubens and his first wife Isabella Brant, even though the seated poses are very similar to a "marriage portrait" of the two now in Munich, that Rubens painted around 1610. The identification of the young couple as "Pausias and Glycera" was first made by Waagen in 1854 (see bibliography), a title which has been popular and fully accepted until now. Waagen assumed that Rubens' painting was of "Pausias and Glycera" since according to Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXV, 123-127, there was a famous portrait by Pausias of Glycera seated, making wreaths that was referred to by the Greeks as "stephanolopis," girl making or selling wreaths. Pausias was a famous fourth century Greek artist well known for his paintings in encaustic who, as Pliny relates, was in love with a fellow townsman named Glycera, the inventor of flower wreaths. His portrait of Glycera supposedly sold for a high price to one Lucius Lucullus. The abundance of flowers in the composition (which are discussed in another context, below), the flower wreath in the girl's hand, the young man in vaguely classical robes holding what could be a panel painting, was ammunition enough for Waagen to make his identification.

Following Waagen's lead, most descriptions of the painting have included reference to Pausias' "portrait of Glycera which he shows her and which they both admire." It is obvious, however, that the thin rectangular object which Pausias steadies with his right hand on a rock ledge, reveals not a shroud of a portrait but is painted a dull dark grey. Neither figure admires the "portrait" but instead gaze, rather wistfully, off into the landscape. Smith's description of the

40a. Detail



40b. Detail



scene would seem more accurate "... Rubens has his left arm on her shoulder and his right hand holds a folio upon its edge; it appears, by his attitude that he is directing the lady's attention to some distant object."

Recent infrared photography has revealed that "Pausias" wears the small, round, black cap favored by Netherlandish ministers, lawyers, writers and scholars in general. The painted out scholar's cap, the hand on what could be a folio and not a "portrait" plus the great emphasis given to a partially nude, beautiful young girl surrounded by flowers, suggests that the painting should more properly be called *A Scholar Inspired by Nature*. Since the Renaissance, in the Netherlands in particular, young scholars were admonished to "learn from nature" and at the same time "respect the classics." If we identify the object that the young man holds as a folio, it is clear that his interest is divided between the folio (the classics) and Nature (the young woman and the flowers). The identification of the woman as Nature is not difficult to accept since Nature was normally shown as a voluptuous young woman, usually with her breasts exposed. The infrared study also suggests that the woman was more nude than she now appears, with the gauzy drapery over her left arm and shoulder strengthened and the red fabric (that matches her dress) added at a later, more prudent time.

Marin Warnke in *Peter Paul Rubens Leben und Werke*, Köln, 1977, pp. 16ff. views the Ringling painting not only as "Pausias and Glycera," but also as an allegory of sorts, showing both the competition and the concord between Art and Nature. He notes a similar possibility in Rubens' "marriage portrait" of around 1610 in Munich, where the artist is inspired by his wife/muse Isabella Brant, surrounded by lush honeysuckle vines.

There are a number of other points to be made in support of a new identification for the Ringling painting. The dark area behind the flower still life in the glass vase was painted over blue sky in order to dramatize the colorful flowers. Strong light shows the original blue glowing through the dark overpaint. The dark area makes no sense as architecture, is without texture or thickness and ends abruptly right in the middle of the girl's head. Without the overpaint, the scene would take place totally in nature. Another seemingly small but important point is the lack of focus given to the flower wreath in the girl's hand. If the theme was to have been "Pausias and Glycera", then the wreath would have been more carefully rendered. It is, instead, hastily painted, almost as an afterthought, and clearly not by the same, precise hand as the other flowers. Furthermore, if Rubens had intended a "Pausias and Glycera" identification, he would have allowed at least a glimpse of the famous portrait on the "panel" (folio) held by "Pausias".

The theme of Pausias and Glycera was not popular with artists. Samuel Hoogstraten etched a seated figure of Glycera weaving flower garlands as part of a chapter illustration in his handbook for artists *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilder-Konst anders de Zichtbaere Werelt*, Rotterdam, 1678, p. 276. In the mid nineteenth century, Richard James Watt made a marble sculpture of *Glycera* (1848). No other

examples have come to light. It is not impossible to imagine Rubens painting a seemingly unique reference to an obscure subject from Pliny, it would appear, however, that such an attractive subject would have found favor with other artists.

The amount of Rubens' involvement in the painting is somewhat problematical. There are no preliminary drawings or painted studies, nor are there studio variants, copies or prints made from the work. There are a number of particularly weak areas, most notably in the man's legs and right arm. The crossed legs are more successfully handled in Rubens' "marriage portrait" of around 1610 in Munich and the *Daniel in the Lion's Den*, finished in 1617, in Washington. The drapery that is now wrapped around each leg, was once a series of regular folds curving over the lap, the right hand steadying the folio has been crudely overpainted, while much of the sky has been dramatized by fleeting clouds where there was once a more serene blue. There is no doubt, however, that Rubens painted both heads in masterful male-female contrasts of brown and blonde hair, hard and soft flesh, dark and light skin.

The flowers in the painting have traditionally been given to Jan Brueghel the Elder who often collaborated with Rubens when flower still lives were necessary. Hairs is particularly adamant that Brueghel's style is evident here, but Bergström makes an even stronger argument for Rubens collaboration with Osias Beert the Elder (see bibliography). Bergström's convincing argument, which we accept, is supported with a meticulous study of plant morphology and Beert's style in other flower still lives.

The youthful couple may have been created as an idealized double portrait of Rubens' brother Philip and his wife Maria de Moy as well as an allegory of *A Scholar Inspired by Nature*. Philip Rubens was a humanist scholar who had introduced Peter Paul to the Italian intellectual community during the painter's stay there and was a leading figure in the scholarly and political community in Antwerp. In a letter discussing Philip's impending marriage in 1609, Rubens noted that "... my brother has been favored by Venus, the Cupids, Juno, and all the gods: there has fallen to his lot a mistress who is beautiful, learned, gracious, wealthy and well-born, and alone able to refute the entire Sixth Satire of Juvenal. It was a fortunate hour when he laid aside the scholar's gown and dedicated himself to the service of Cupid." (Ruth S. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, I, p. 20, Antwerp, April 10, 1609). Philip was to serve Cupid for but two brief years and died in 1611. The flower still life in the glass vase may be intended as a *memento mori* with the Iris, symbol of the Sorrows of the Virgin, crowning the bouquet. Rendered in minute detail, below the vase, are a butterfly and worm, symbolic of the Resurrection, the worm/earthly body transformed into the butterfly/soul that flies to heaven. In this context the garland of flowers held by the girl could be a memorial wreath for Philip Rubens. Rubens would have begun the painting sometime after the death of his brother in 1611 and completed it within the four year span of 1612-1615, the dates generally assigned to the work.
W.H.W.



Peter Paul Rubens and Studio
 Siegen, 1577 - Antwerp, 1640

41. *The Departure of Lot and His Family from Sodom* (SN 218)

Oil on canvas;
 86½ x 96 (220.4 x 246 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Jacques de Wit (bought from him by the City of Antwerp for 2,000 florins); presented by the City of Antwerp to John, First Duke of Marlborough in 1706; Blenheim Palace until 1886, sold for £1,850; Charles Butler, London, until 1911; James Ross, Montreal, Canada; sale Christie's, London, July 8, 1927, no. 23, repr., £2,205, purchased by Richter (for John Ringling?).

Bibliography: **John Smith**,
A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters, London, 1830, no. 826;
Waagen,
Art Treasures in Great Britain, 1854, III, no. 124;
M. Rooses,
L'Oeuvre de P.P. Rubens, Antwerp, 1886-1892, I, p. 122, no. 102, pl. 28;
Edward Dillon,
Rubens, London, 1909, p. 132, pl. CXVI;
Rudolf Oldenbourg,
Rubens (Klassiker der Kunst), Stuttgart-Berlin, 1921, p. 105;
W.R. Valentiner,
"Rubens Paintings in America," The Art Quarterly, vol. IX, Spring, 1946, no. 57;
Julius S. Held and Jan-Albert Goris,
Rubens in America, N.Y., 1947, no. 36, figs. 37, 38;
Art News Annual, XLVIII, no. 7, Nov., 1949, pp. 10-11, repr.
 Exhibitions: London, **Burlington House**, 1886;
 Philadelphia, **The Philadelphia Museum of Art**, *Masterpieces in America*, 1950;
 Montreal, **Montreal Museum of Art**, *Canada Collects: 1860 - 1960*, 1960;
 New York, **New York World's Fair**, Florida Pavilion, 1964.

Rubens dramatic and colorful version of *The Departure of Lot and His Family from Sodom* is understandably one of the most popular and best known paintings in the Ringling Museum. It is also an excellent example of the high quality achieved by the Rubens Studio when under his close supervision. There are two other versions of the theme attributed to Rubens, all close in size; one in the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo (until 1978 on loan from a German private collection to the University of Würzburg) and another from the Del Monte Collection, now in the Bass Museum, Miami. There has been strong disagreement as to which painting is the "original." Although he never saw the Del Monte/Bass version, Burchard quoted Glück's opinion that it was superior in quality to the other two and probably from Rubens' hand (Ludwig Burchard, *Catalogue to the Rubens Exhibition*, Goudstikker Gallery, Amsterdam, 1933). Goris and Held called the Del Monte/Bass version "... definitely inferior to the picture in the Ringling Museum" but had no opinion on the Tokyo painting which they had not seen. They also maintained that the Ringling painting "... has all the aspects of a genuine work of about 1613-1615." Puyvelde felt that the Tokyo version showed "... higher aesthetic value than the other two and was executed by Rubens around 1620." He noted that the Ringling painting is "... of a heavier execution and is in our opinion executed by a follower for the engraving by Vosterman."

41a. **Peter Paul Rubens and Studio**
The Departure of Lot and His Family from Sodom
 National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo

41b. **Peter Paul Rubens and Studio**
The Departure of Lot and His Family from Sodom
 The Bass Museum of Art, Miami





(Leo van Puyvelde, Catalogue to the exhibition, *Le Siècle de Rubens*, Musée Royaux, Brussels, 1965, no. 181). While all three paintings show some degree of participation by Rubens, they should be more accurately described as excellent studio works. The Tokyo version shows the most evidence of Rubens' touch, the Ringling version less and the Del Monte/Bass painting the least. Judging from an excellent photograph, the Tokyo painting shows a livelier application of paint, especially in the highlights on fabric. Puyvelde's description of the Ringling painting as "heavier in execution" is accurate and even more applicable to the Del Monte/Bass version. There are a number of details in the Tokyo painting that are not present in the other two such as the transparent fabric revealing (up to the knee) the leg of Lot's blonde daughter, the lightning bolts in the dark sky and the clump of grass in the lower left corner. There seems no reason to dispute the generally accepted dates of 1613-1615 since Rubens' monumental grouping of figures moving across the picture plane with measured step, relates to other compositions from the same period, especially *The Holy Women at the Tomb* of around 1614 from the Czernin Collection, Salzburg. The strong sculptural form of Lot's daughter at the right, gracefully balancing a rug on her head, seems inspired by similar figures in Italian Renaissance frescoes, but in fact is closely related to a drawing (possibly from life) in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin, no. 4482 of a young peasant who appears in a number of other Rubens paintings including *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, Marseille, 1616. A study for the head and shoulders of the angel behind the reluctant Lot is in the Count la Gardie Collection, Skanen, Sweden. This particular drawing also was inspiration for Rubens' angels in other paintings such as *The Easter Sepulchre*, Uffizi, c. 1616.

A drawing in the Louvre (no. 20314), once attributed to van Dyck, is a study by Lucas Vorsterman for an engraving (in reverse) of Rubens' composition. A small panel painting from c. 1625, attributed to Rubens and also in the Louvre, shows a composition based on the larger version but with numerous changes. The Vosterman engraving inspired other versions of the scene, especially among artists in the Rubens Studio (one by J.B. Lambrechts was at Parke-Bernet, January, 1979, no. 55). Rembrandt was not immune to the spell of Rubens' dramatic interpretation of Lot's departure, basing a drawing in the British Museum on an anonymous engraving that reverses the Vosterman print so that the scene is again in the same direction as the Ringling painting (see J.Q. van Regteren Altena, "The Origin of a Motif in Rembrandt's Work," *Master Drawings*, vol. 4, no. 4, 1968, pp. 375ff.). W.H.W.

Studio of **Peter Paul Rubens** Siegen, 1477 - Antwerp, 1640

42. *Portrait Head of a Young Monk* (SN 224)

Oil on panel;
18 1/2 x 15 1/2 (47.6 x 38.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Sale, Drouot, Paris, January 31, 1912, lot 52 (as Rubens);
sale, Drouot, Paris, February 13, 1914, lot 95
(as Rubens);
Paris, Alvin-Beaumont, 1925;
Genoa, Ernesto Bertollo, 1926;
purchased from the latter by Böhler, Munich, 1926;
John Ringling, 1926 (fall).

Bibliography: **W.R. Valentiner**,
"Rubens Paintings in America," *The Art Quarterly*,
IX, 1946, p. 156 (as Rubens, *Head of a Monk*);
Jan-Albert Goris and Julius S. Held,
Rubens in America,
N.Y., 1947, p. 48, no. A34
as (copy, *Head of a Young Monk*);
Suida, no. 224 (as Rubens, *Portrait of a Head*
of a Young Monk);
Hans Vlieghe,
Saints (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Berchard, vol. VIII),
vol. II, London-N.Y., 1973, no. 157 (as copy,
St. Thomas Aquinas).
Exhibitions: **Schaeffer Galleries**, N.Y.,
Rubens, 1944.

According to Burchard and Vlieghe, the Ringling panel is one of three copies made from a lost original. A second version is in the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Antwerp (no. 712, canvas, 69 x 54.5 cm.) on loan from the Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn. The third copy is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Narbonne (no. 627, canvas, 42 x 33 cm.). Vlieghe notes that the same head also appears on the extreme right of *St. Ambrose Barring the Emperor Theodosius from Milan Cathedral* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) that was once attributed to Rubens and is now given to van Dyck (G. Glück). Van Dyck's study for the Vienna *St. Ambrose* painting is in the National Gallery, London and shows another face in place of the monk. Both the Vienna and London paintings are based on a Rubens composition conceived around 1610.



42b. Peter Paul Rubens and Studio
St. Thomas Aquinas
 Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, Antwerp



42a. Painting during conservation process,
 showing later additions

A drawing of the theme by Rubens was listed in the 1653 will of the painter Jeremias Wildens. It is possible that the lost original upon which the Ringling, Antwerp and Narbonne paintings were based may be identical with a "St. Thomas van Aquinen van Rubens" mentioned in 1640 in the accounts of the art dealer Matthijs Musson at Antwerp.

The Ringling panel was created in two stages. The robe and the cowl were added when strips enlarged the painting from c. 11 x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches to its present size of 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The strips measure 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the top and left side and 5 inches at the bottom. The clumsy coordination of the cowl and robe with the head has prompted Julius Held to speculate if "... the head was first painted as a study, and the monk's outfit added later to complete it in some manner, or whether it was intended to be a monk from the beginning" (museum file, 1978).

When compared with photographs of the other two versions, the Ringling panel seems to bear the closest stylistic affinity to Rubens, although the handling of the flesh tones is less transparent than it should be. With the strips added it is about the same size as the Narbonne canvas, which suggests that whoever made the Narbonne copy may have used the Ringling head or the original. The Antwerp painting is much larger than either of the other two, with the monk seen half-length, his white habit showing below his black robe. A star was added on the chest to identify him as St. Thomas Aquinas, possibly in order to make the "portrait" more saleable. A shaft of light from the upper left was painted in as a final touch. The Antwerp version echoes somewhat the full-length *St. Francis Xavier*, attributed to Rubens, which was formerly with Asscher and Welker, London and now lost (Vlieghe, no. 114) or the engraving made from it by Bolswert where the figure is seen in a neutral dark environment with a shaft of light at the upper left.

W.H.W.



Studio of **Rubens**

Siegen, 1477 - Antwerp, 1640

43. *Danae and the Shower of Gold* (SN 220)

Oil on canvas;
60 x 70 $\frac{3}{4}$ (152.4 x 180 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Jan-Albert Goris** and **Julius S. Held**,

Rubens in America,

N.Y., 1947, p. 54, A82.

(as copy, *Danaë and the Golden Rain*)

Exhibitions: None

According to Hyginus, *Fabulae*, LXIII, Danae was imprisoned in an underground bronze chamber by her father King Acrisius, after it was prophesied that his grandson would kill him. Zeus had intercourse with her in the form of a shower of gold which poured through the roof into Danae's lap. She gave birth to Perseus who later accidentally killed Acrisius with a badly aimed discus. In the moralized Medieval interpretation of the myth, Danae was seen as a symbol of modesty, Pudicitia, and the tower that protected her virtue represented Chastity. Late Renaissance artists, such as Correggio, Primaticcio and Titian preferred the erotic side of the myth implying that the shower of gold was payment to Danae from Zeus in order that he might have intercourse with her.

Goris and Held were the first to note the obvious derivation of the Ringling Museum Danae from one of the Sabine sisters in Rubens' *Abduction of the Daughters of Leucippus* in Munich (1616-1617). They also discovered that there was a drawing by the Rubens workshop in the Louvre of the same figure, based on the Munich painting. Cupid, who grasps the mane of one of the horses in the abduction, has been moved closer to the action in the Ringling painting and pulls a crimson cloth between Danae's thighs to hide her nakedness, but only serves by his action to emphasize the lasciviousness of the scene. Danae's maid, who attempts to catch the shower of gold coins in her apron, is taken (in reverse) from the maid in Titian's Danae in the Prado.

In an undated letter to Böhrer (mid 1930's?) Willem von Bode praised John Ringling's courage in purchasing Rubens paintings in a country that does not appreciate the master's works, especially nudes, and emphasized that "... every stroke of the Danae is by Rubens' own hand." In 1960 Haverkamp-Begemann was less enthusiastic about the painting suggesting that "The figure of Danae is unquestionably of the seventeenth century, and probably of Rubens' lifetime

or shortly thereafter. Other parts, notably the rug, are not convincing and may be much later. It might be that this was an unfinished studio painting, later filled out to be sold" (letter from curatorial file). Haverkamp-Begemann is correct in observing that the figures were executed by a hand other than the artist who painted the background and accessories. There is no evidence, however (especially after recent cleaning), that the background and accessories were painted later than the figures.

Svetlana Alpers records a Rubens *Danae and the Golden Rain* that was once in the Royal Palace, Madrid executed in connection with the Torre de las Parada commission sometime between 1636 and 1638 (Svetlana Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, IX), London, N.Y., 1971, no. 15, whereabouts unknown, presumably lost). Alpers is certain that the Ringling Museum Danae has nothing to do with the painting once in the Royal Palace, but is a school piece dating from c. 1616-1618 (around the time of the *Abduction of the Daughters of Leucippus*). A Danae, possibly by Rubens himself, is listed in the inventory of Jeremia Wildens' estate in 1653.

The artist from the Rubens studio was clever to recognize that the Sabine woman in the Munich abduction scene was readymade for transformation into Danae. Her languid submission to the abductor/lover becomes in the Ringling painting an eager reaching for the gold coins that announce the arrival of Zeus who has penetrated the virginal prison.

The composition was originally more compact with a strip of canvas about 12 inches wide now extending the scene at the top. It is not, however, a seam in the original canvas, because the top edge of the lower canvas shows typical tack pulls.

W.H.W.



Studio of **Frans Snyders**

Antwerp, 1579 - Antwerp, 1657

44. *Still Life with Dead Game and a White Swan* (SN 234)

Oil on canvas;
57½ x 89½ (146 x 227.3 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Art dealer A.G., Lucerne, 1934;
purchased by John Ringling from Böhler for \$4,000.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 234 as Frans Snyders.

Exhibitions: None

44a. Studio of Frans Snyders
The Larder with Figures
The Samuel H. Kress Collection
Allentown Art Museum
Allentown, Pennsylvania



This large and impressive work is an example of the very high level of quality achieved by workshop productions in seventeenth century Flanders. The source for this splendid canvas is an almost precisely similar work in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, one of the true masterpieces of Frans Snyders; the Dresden painting is much larger than the Ringling work (197 x 325 cm.) and includes a man and woman (perhaps by an assistant in the Rubens studio), two dogs, and five puppies on the right. This work is the source for three other large canvases: the Ringling Museum painting, one in the Allentown Art Museum (which includes the figures and dogs) and a painting in the sale, J.E. Weber, Brussels, 21-12-1925, no. 88. The Ringling, Allentown and Dresden paintings all show the disemboweled guts of the dead boar, which are omitted in the Brussels painting; however, the Brussels work has various details that are in the Dresden original but not in the Ringling painting, such as a strainer with asparagus on the right and a standing figure holding a melon. The Dresden and Allentown paintings do not have the plate with a lobster, present in the Brussels and Ringling versions. Interestingly, the artists of the two schoolpieces have been only moderately successful in integrating this plate with the rest of the composition they have borrowed from the Dresden painting; the conjunction of the lobster and the head of the rabbit is handled awkwardly.

We seem then, to be dealing here with a magnificent original by Frans Snyders, in Dresden, and three replicas of it from his studio, the one in the Ringling Museum perhaps

44b. Studio of Frans Snyders
The Larder with Figures
Webber Sale
Brussels, December 21, 1925
(no. 88)



being closer to Snyders himself (according to Hilla Roebels, the Allentown painting is closer, editor).

The dogs in the Dresden painting reappear in a dead game piece by Snyders in the Louvre; the two figures in the Dresden painting and the boar, the roebuck, and the lobster on the plate (this last detail present only in two replicas), reappear in the painting sold in Paris, 14-5-1935, no. 34. We can see in this cluster of works that a major painting, such as the Dresden canvas, could be "dismembered" and used, detail by detail, in other works by Snyders himself (Louvre) and by at least four other contemporary artists (Paris sale, Brussels, Allentown and Ringling). Interestingly, not only did the students borrow from Snyders, they borrowed from each other (the lobster on the plate) at the same time.

The Ringling work was probably made directly under Snyders' supervision, because of its strikingly high quality. A possible author is Adriaen van Utrecht, who did so many large and magnificent still lifes in the manner of Snyders (including the Ringling Museum *Still Life with Cats and Monkeys*, no. 51).

The condition of the Ringling painting is generally excellent; the paint is thin in the upper right corner, and around the cat under the table, and there is a pentimento next to the right front hoof of the roebuck. The only serious damage is on the left, along a vertical strip to the left of the swan's wing, particularly in the lobster, vegetables, and fruit. F.W.R.



David Teniers II

Antwerp, 1610 - Brussels, 1690

45. *Fiddler in a Tavern* (SN 243)

Oil on panel;
14 x 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ (35.6 x 47.6 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed by the artist, lower left: "D. Teniers F."

Provenance: Viscount d'Albernon;
Esher; Christie's sale, London, June 28, 1929, no. 25;
purchased by John Ringling for £546.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 243;
Richard D. Leppert,
"David Teniers the Younger and the Image of Music,"
*Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone
Kunsten Antwerpen*,
1978, pp. 89-90, fig. 19.

Exhibitions: San Francisco, **Golden Gate International Exhibition**, 1940.

David Teniers, who did many copies of Italian Renaissance and Baroque compositions, was perhaps the best known of a large number of Flemish painters who depicted mainly scenes of peasant genre, particularly in taverns and farms. The present work, dating from the 1630's or 1640's, is a good example of this concentration on sparkling highlights and individual objects, like a bottle or broom, and his ability to give these details a vivid life of their own. Although he executed scores of paintings of musicians in taverns, scenes with a fiddler as main figure are of special interest; Richard D. Leppert ("David Teniers the Younger and the Image of Music," pp. 89-92) has pointed out that the man here is playing the kit, or pocket fiddle, designed to accompany dancers. Leppert suggests that Teniers may have been making fun of lower class attempts to imitate the performances of more serious music on grander instruments. The source for this composition, as with others by Teniers, seems to be Adriaen Brouwer; for example, his fiddler in a tavern with a figure looking in the open window and other figures huddled at a fireplace in the right background, ca. 1625, in the Hermitage, Leningrad.

F.W.R.



David Teniers II

Antwerp, 1610 - Brussels, 1690

46. *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (SN 244)

Oil on copper;
12 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 9 (30.7 x 22.9 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: John Ringling
Bibliography: *Suida*, no. 244
Exhibitions: None

46a. David Teniers II
The Temptation of St. Anthony
Formerly the A.W. Voltz Collection,
The Hague



46b. David Teniers II
The Temptation of St. Anthony
The Rijks Museum, Amsterdam



The early seventeenth century was a time of an extraordinarily cruel witch craze, during which tens of thousands of women, and men, were executed for being witches or for their complicity or leniency in dealing with them; this remarkable phenomenon spread throughout Western Europe (see, for example, H.R. Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-Craze of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, London, 1969). It is not surprising, then to find that a number of Dutch and Flemish artists painted witches' sabbaths, black masses, and the temptation of St. Anthony by demons and witches. In the North, Cornelis Saftleven and Jacques de Gheyn II often portrayed such scenes, and in Flanders, some of David Teniers' most exciting compositions illustrate the torments of St. Anthony. Given the historical circumstances, it is not surprising to find that the tempters in the present painting are peasants in contemporary dress.

It is clear that the Ringling painting is one of Teniers most dynamic works, in the intensity of the characterizations and the brilliance of the brushwork in the details. This and another painting of almost exactly the same size (30 x 25.5 cm.), formerly in the collection of A.W. Volz, The Hague (1936), which adds a demon playing a flute in the right foreground, served as the basis for at least ten replicas by Teniers, each with slight variations in the bizarre cast of characters, as well as a number of studio versions and later copies. (The replicas are in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, the collections of the Duke of Beaufort, Badminton, and the Duchess Montrose, Isle of Aran, the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and the state museums of Brussels, Leipzig, Copenhagen, and Dresden.)
F.W.R.



David Teniers II

Antwerp, 1610 - Brussels, 1690

47. *A Peasant Wedding* (SN 245)

Oil on canvas;
27 x 39¼ (99.7 x 68.6 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: According to Suida, signed and dated by the artist
(no longer visible): "P. Teniers Fecit .6.."

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: Suida, no. 245

Exhibitions: None

This large and important painting is in poor condition; many of the figures are damaged (the bride, for example, is barely visible), and even less original paint remains in the tree and houses. Nevertheless, enough remains of the work for us to be convinced that it is an authentic painting from the hand of Teniers himself. He executed literally dozens of outdoor scenes like this, sometimes with a peasant wedding, as here, sometimes with only the dancers; many of these canvases are much smaller than the Ringling painting, in some cases the landscape seems to have been painted by Lucas van Uden. A few even served as the model for tapestries. Teniers is basically a formula artist; that is, he would take the couple seated on the left in the Ringling work, the bagpiper, the couple dancing, and other such separate elements, and rearrange them to create a "new" composition. A canvas in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, is fairly similar to this work, if more concentrated on the figures. An even closer version of the Ringling painting is in the Stanford Museum, California.

F.W.R.



47a. David Teniers II
A Peasant Wedding
Stanford Museum, Stanford University,
Stanford, California



48.



49.

Imitator of **David Teniers II**

Antwerp, 1610 - Brussels, 1690

48. *Interior of a Tavern with Old Man and Other Figures* (SN 246)

Oil on canvas;
16¼ x 23 (41.3 x 58.4 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: Achillito Chiesa, Milan;
American Art Association sale,
New York, 1927;
American Art Association sale,
April, 24, 1930, no. 18.
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 246

The original of this work is probably the painting by Teniers in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, which is vertical in format and omits the scene to the right in the background. There are at least four other versions, all vertical and all including just the old man and one or two figures in front of the fireplace; these paintings (Musée, Dijon; Borghese Gallery, Rome; art market), like the Ringling work, are probably not by Teniers himself.
F.W.R.



48a. Imitator of David Teniers II
Interior of a Tavern with Old Man and Other Figures
Private Collection, Paris

Imitator of **David Teniers II**

Antwerp, 1610 - Brussels, 1690

49. *Sower in a Field* (SN 737)

Oil on panel;
9½ x 13½ (23.7 x 33.7 cm.)
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Gottlieb, 1961

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: Alexander Arensberg;
American Art Association sale, New York, 1930, no. 14;
Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Gottlieb.
Bibliography: None
Exhibitions: None

David Teniers often illustrated farm scenes, with farmers milking their cows or performing other such chores, although sowing seems to have been a relatively rare subject. This work is a poor copy or variant by a later hand.
F.W.R.



Theodor van Thulden

Hertogenbosch, 1606 - Hertogenbosch, 1669

50. *An Allegory of Prosperity After Victory* (SN 237)

Oil on canvas;

64½ x 91 (163.8 x 231.1 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: According to Suida, Don Eugenio L. de Bayo, Madrid; according to Böhler, purchased by J.R., in New York for \$400; possibly the *Triumph of Peace*, attributed to Jordaens, Christie's, London, June 1, 1928 (no. 137) from the Lady Trebelyan Collection, Welcombe, Stratford-on-Avon (66 x 94 in.).

Bibliography: Suida, no. 237

Exhibitions: None



50a. Theodor van Thulden
An Allegory of Prosperity After Victory
Alfred Gutheil, Hamburg, West Germany

Horst Gerson examined the painting in 1976 and confirmed the original attribution to van Thulden. It is possible that it was purchased by Ringling as "Jordaens" at the Christie's sale in 1928 and shipped to Böhler in Munich for restoration. Böhler later presented Ringling with an invoice dated August 8, 1929 for restoration work on an "Allegorical scene by van Thulden" evaluated at 4200 gold Reichsmarks (curatorial file). Böhler's invoice would seem to negate his statement that the painting was purchased in New York for \$400. To ship a painting as large as the van Thulden to Munich and back for restoration, seems foolish and improbable.

Whatever its provenance, the painting is typically van Thulden with rich dark colors (red predominating) and full-blown Rubens figures. Prosperity with a cornucopia is seated on the bodies of defeated enemies; she is crowned with laurel by a hovering, trumpeting Fama (similar to a Fama in van Thulden's *The Continece of Scipio*, Antwerp, Musées Royaux). An emperor clad in Roman armour presents a king and a cardinal to Prosperity. The scene takes place beneath the walls of a fortress by the water's edge

with ships in a distant harbor. The fruits of prosperity and peace, grapes, apples and artichokes are seen in contrast with the bitter fruit of war and famine, cabbages, turnips and carrots (at the lower right).

Van Thulden's allegory may have some connection with the triumphal arrival of the Cardinal-Infante, the Archduke Ferdinand, to Antwerp in 1635. Van Thulden, along with almost every other artist of note in Antwerp, assisted Rubens in the creation of magnificent triumphal architecture, full of allegories, that welcomed Ferdinand as he progressed through the city. The cardinal in the painting may represent Ferdinand, while the emperor and the king may refer to his Hapsburg relatives, King Philip IV of Spain and Emperor Ferdinand of Hungary.

Another version of the painting is in the Alfred Gutheil Collection, Hamburg. It is unclear whether this painting is a study, copy or variant of the Ringling allegory.

Sometime after the painting was restored by Böhler it was cleaned and prepared for inpainting that never took place.

W.H.W.



51.



51a.

Adriaen van Utrecht

Antwerp, 1599 - Antwerp, 1653

51. *Still Life with Cats and Monkeys* (SN 235)

Oil on canvas;

29½ x 42½ (74.9 x 108 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Inscribed by a later hand, lower right: "F. Snyders"

Provenance: J.E. Weber sale, Brussels, Dec. 21, 1925, no. 94 as Adriaen van Utrecht;
Sale, Brussels, March 12, 1927, no. 77 as Adriaen van Utrecht.

Bibliography: *Suida*, no. 235 as Jan Fyt (later as Frans Snyders).

Exhibitions: None

Although its abraded condition makes a firm attribution somewhat difficult, this lively still life seems to be from the hand of Adriaen van Utrecht, in the 1630's, rather than Frans Snyders, to whom it was formerly attributed. In its previous auction sales, the work was given to Van Utrecht, and there is a panel in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, showing monkeys with fruit on a table and signed and dated by Van Utrecht in 1635, which is strikingly close to the Ringling painting. Van Utrecht was deeply influenced by Snyders, who often showed cats or monkeys on a table with fruit, and he executed several other still lifes with monkeys, for example, in the Kunsthalle, Kiel. Iconographically, there may be undertones of the stupidity of men (monkeys) and the cunning cruelty of women (cats) despoiling this abundance of fruit, overturning baskets and plates, and fighting over cherries.

A recent cleaning has revealed that there was once an ornate carved frame around the window which may indicate that the window was originally a "painting within a painting", and later painted out (editor).

F.W.R.



52.



53.

School of **F.X.H. Verbeeck**

Antwerp, 1686 - Antwerp, 1755

52. *An Interior with Ladies and Gentlemen* (SN 295)

53. *An Interior with Ladies and Gentlemen* (SN 296)

Both oil on canvas;

(SN 295), 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ (43.5 x 56.2 cm.)

(SN 296), 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 22 (44.4 x 55.9 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, nos. 295-296, as Dutch Painter of the XVIII Century.

Exhibitions: None

These pendants, in poor condition, are clearly in the tradition of F.X.H. Verbeeck, and are similar to many such elegant gatherings that he painted, for example, in a work now in the National Gallery, Oslo.

F.W.R.



In the Manner of **Paul de Vos**
Hulst, 1596 - Antwerp, 1678

54. *Stag Hunt* (SN 233)

Oil on canvas;
56 x 76¼ (142.2 x 193.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Walther Bernt,**

Die Niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts,
vol. III, München, 1948, plate 771 as Frans Snyders;
Suida, no. 233 as Frans Snyders.

Exhibitions: San Francisco, *Golden Gate International Exposition*,
1940.

Horst Gerson (April 5, 1976, notes in museum files) has already pointed out that this work is an old copy of Paul de Vos' superb *Stag Hunt* in the Musées Royaux, Brussels, signed by de Vos and with the landscape by Jan Wildens. Except for several figures in the background and the tree on the left, the Ringling work is a detailed copy of the painting in Brussels. Another copy of the Brussels painting was in the Sedelmeyer Gallery, 1897, no. 46.
F.W.R.



54a **Paul de Vos**
Stag Hunt
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Antwerp



55.



56.

Attributed to **Thomas Willeboirts, called Bosschaert**
 Bergen-op-Zoom, 1614 - Antwerp, 1654

55. *Romulus Slaying Acron?* (SN 222)

Oil on paper glued to canvas;
 118 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 108 (300.7 x 274.3 cm.)
 J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: London, 1928?

John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 222 as Rubens,
A Defeated Warrior: Cartoon for a Tapestry.

Exhibitions: None

56. *Remus Before Amulius* (SN 223)

Oil on paper glued to canvas;
 118 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 108 (300.7 x 274.3 cm.)
 J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: London, 1928?

John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 223 as Rubens and van Dyck,
A Young Martyr: Cartoon for a Tapestry.

55a. Detail



55b. Detail



56a. Detail



Michael Jaffé has attributed both SN 222 and SN 223 to Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert whose style was a decorative amalgam of both Rubens and van Dyck. Between 1641 and 1650, Willeboirts painted numerous biblical and mythological works for Prince Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms for their palaces in the northern Netherlands. He was also known as a designer of cartoons for tapestries. Jaffé has favorably compared the Ringling paintings with *The Martyrdom of St. James* which was the high altarpiece of the Church of St. Jacques in Bruges and is now in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse. The large size of the Ringling paintings, the use of paper as support, the broad handling and lack of detail plus the use of the left hand (the weavers worked in reverse) strongly suggest that they functioned as tapestry cartoons.

Jaffé, with the aid of Jennifer Montagu, has discovered that SN 223 represents *Remus Before Amulius* (Livy, Book I). Brigands captured the naked Remus, who had been dancing with other youths in celebration of the Feast of Pan Lycaeus (a sculpture of Pan playing the pipes is at the upper left), and brought before King Amulius for chastisement. Amulius was later murdered by Romulus after he discovered that the twins Romulus and Remus were his nephews. The same rare subject appears in the frescoes designed by the Caracci in the salone of the Palazzo Magnani in Bologna, painted around 1590. In the fresco the scene is less dramatic with a placid, fully-dressed Remus and a background of classical

architecture that distracts from the drama of the confrontation.

The second tapestry cartoon is more difficult to identify than the first, but since it has come down to us with *Remus Before Amulius* and appears to be from the same hand, it would be safe to assume that it also shows a scene from the Romulus and Remus legend, that of *Romulus Slaying Acron*. The Caracci fresco cycle in the Palazzo Magnani shows *The Triumph of Romulus*, after he had killed Acron the Sabine King, and defeated his army. The Ringling cartoon, however, would appear to show the man-to-man duel between Acron and Romulus as told by Livy, Book I, with the Romans watching at the right and the Sabine army about to flee at the left as their leader King Acron is stabbed by Romulus. There is too much attention paid to the struggle between the two soldiers for the scene to represent an anonymous confrontation on the field of battle.

After a recent examination of the Ringling paintings, Julius Held has suggested that they are possibly by the same artist (not necessarily Willeboirts Bosschaert) who created the four large paintings attributed to Rubens recently acquired by the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. The Cardiff paintings are close in size to the Ringling pair and have been identified as tapestry cartoons depicting the *History of Aeneas*, the legendary founder of Rome. They have been dated by Jaffé at c. 1629-1630.

W.H.W.



Attributed to **Frans Wouters**

Lierre, 1612 - Antwerp, 1659

57. *Figures in a Landscape* (SN 238)

Oil on canvas;

69½ x 60 (176.5 x 152.4 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Christie's sale, London, July 5, 1929 as Titian;

John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 238

Exhibitions: None

The pose of this figure is typical of the gesturing nudes of Frans Wouters; there are various paintings by the artist that are reminiscent of the Ringling work, such as the *Perseus and Andromeda*, Musée, Nancy, *Venus and Adonis*, Statens Museum, Copenhagen, and *John the Baptist*, Duke of Beaufort, Badminton. However, other Flemish artists in the Rubens circle are possible here, such as Van den Hoecke or Boeckhorst. The badly rubbed condition of the work prevents a more positive attribution.

The subject of the painting is probably Atalanta and Hippomenes, who would be the second runner in the lower left; however, the water spout on the right suggests the story of Hero and Leander as well.

F.W.R.

**Dutch Paintings
1400-1900**





Willem van Aelst

Delft, 1626 - Amsterdam, 1683

58. *Still Life with Dead Game* (SN 655)

Oil on canvas;

53 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 41 $\frac{1}{8}$ (136.8 x 106.4 cm.)

Museum purchase, 1951

Inscriptions: Signed by the artist between center and lower left:
"Guillaume van Aelst."

Provenance: Purchased from D.A. Hoogendijk, Amsterdam, 1951.

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

This splendid painting is an unusually large and fine example of Willem van Aelst's specialty, the still life with dead birds and hares, and elegant and expensive accessories, such as the marble-top table with carved leg (in this case, in the form of a frowning ogre). Van Aelst's early still lifes, from the 1640's, are simple, modest, and small, often painted on copper or panel. By the early fifties, the luxurious settings and dead animals have begun to appear, and the canvases are larger, although not yet on the scale of the Ringling work. A still life in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, dated 1664, is perhaps the first that looks similar in concept and style to our painting, and a canvas dated 1668, in the Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, one of the artist's finest works, must surely be very close in date. By the seventies, Van Aelst had returned to a smaller format, with some exceptions. A fragmentary signature and date appear in the lower left corner of the Ringling painting; only a "6" is visible of the date. The condition of this work is excellent, except for a zigzag patch in the upper right corner.

F.W.R.

Hendrick Avercamp

Amsterdam, 1585 - Kampen, 1643

59. *Winter Scene* (SN 788)

Oil on copper;

oval, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ (12.1 x 16.5 cm.)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Polak, 1965

Inscriptions: Monogrammed by the artist, lower left: "HA."

Provenance: Sarasota, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Polak Collection.

Bibliography: None

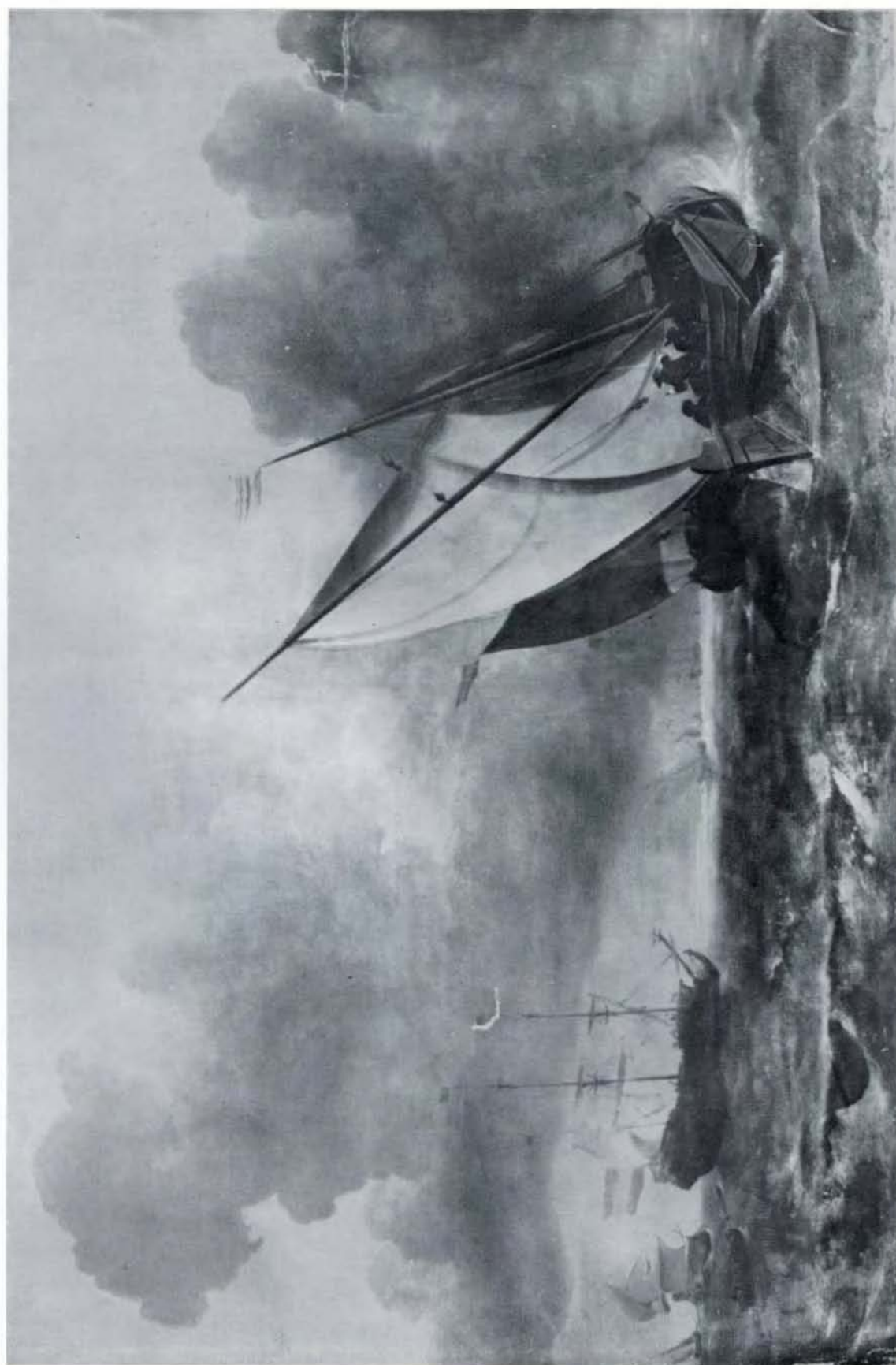
Exhibitions: None



59.

This little painting, in good condition, is doubly precious, not only because it is one of Hendrick Avercamp's smallest paintings, but also because it is one of his earliest, probably from the middle or end of the second decade of the seventeenth century. Avercamp forms a bridge between the Netherlandish landscapists of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, such as Hans Bol, Alexander Keirincx, and the members of the Frankenthal School, on one hand, and, on the other, the true makers of what we think of as the typical Dutch landscape in the 1620's, such as Esaias van de Velde, in particular, and Pieter de Molijn and Jan van Goyen. There is, in the Ringling work, a minimum of mannerist calligraphy in the tree branches, and the viewpoint of the artist is fairly low and close to the figures. The resemblance to tiny works on panel and copper by Esaias van de Velde, especially after 1618, is striking. The same elements are in a monogrammed panel by Avercamp, in the art market (W. Hallsborough), London, 1958.

F.W.R.



Imitator of **Ludolf Backhuysen**
Enden, 1631 - Amsterdam, 1708

60. *Seascape* (SN 287)

Oil on canvas;
48 x 73 (121.9 x 185.4 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Provenance: Purchased by John Ringling at Christie's, London,
June 1, 1928, no. 56 for £84.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 287 as Ludolf Backhuysen.

Exhibitions: None

This work is a precise copy, detail for detail, of a famous painting once in the collection of the Earl of Ellesmere, Bridgewater House, London (sold at Christie's, London, July 2, 1976) which has been attributed to Willem van de Velde the Younger (by C. Hofstede de Groot, no. 488) and to Backhuysen (by J.G. van Gelder, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 95, 1953, p. 34). Aside from its intrinsic quality, the original Backhuysen is important because this is the work that J.M.W. Turner made a pendant to, also in Bridgewater House. The Ringling painting, 48 x 73 inches, is almost the same size as the ex-Ellesmere work, 53 x 76 inches. Its abraded and ripped condition prevents identification of the artist, certainly not seventeenth century, as an Englishman or Dutchman.

There are four other versions of the painting: Agnew's, 1957 (as Backhuysen); Greenwich National Maritime Museum, no. 27-54 (as after Backhuysen); Holford Collection, London (in reverse) and the Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C.
F.W.R.



Hans Jurriaensz. van Baden

Amsterdam, 1604 - Amsterdam, 1663 or 1677

61. *Interior of the Amsterdam Theatre* (SN 654)

Oil on panel;
17½ x 18½ (44.5 x 47.6 cm.)
Museum purchase, 1951.

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Purchased from Schaeffer Galleries, New York
as Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde (according to Valentiner).

Bibliography: **S.J. Gudlaugsson**,
"Jacob van Campens Amsterdamse Schouwburg door
Hans Jeuriaensz. van Baden Uitgebeeld,"
Oud-Holland,
vol. 66, 1951, III, pp. 179ff;
B. Hunningher,
"De Amsterdamse Schouwburg van 1637,"
Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,
1958, pp. 109ff.;
E. de Bock,
De Nederlander,
1966, pp. 220 and 252, pl. 212;
La vie en Holland au XVII Siecle
(exhibition catalogue),
Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, 1967, no. 151
(photograph);
W.M.H. Hammelen,
History of the Dutch National Theatre,
Amsterdam, 1967;
W. Kuyper,
"Two Mannerist Theatres by Baroque Architects,"
New Theatre Magazine,
vol. 9, no. 3, Summer, 1969, pp. 22ff.;
Ben Albach,
*Langs Kermessen en Hoven, ontstaan en kroniek
van een Nederlands toneelgezelschap in het
17de eeuw*, Zutphen, 1977.

Exhibitions: Hartford, **Wadsworth Atheneum**,
Life in 17th Century Holland, Nov.-Jan., 1951;
Sarasota, **Ringling Museum of Art**,
Reflections of the Italian Comedy, Jan.-Feb., 1951;
New York, **Pierre Beres Gallery**,
Moliere and the History of the French Theatre,
March-April, 1951;
Utrecht, **Centraal Museum**,
Architectural Painting in the Netherlands,
June-Sept., 1953;
Pittsburg, **Carnegie Institute**,
*Pictures of Everyday Life: Genre Painting in
Europe 1500-1900*, Oct.-Dec., 1954;
Haarlem, **Frans Halsmuseum**,
*Rendezvous der Rederijkers: Five Centuries of
Theatre*, June-July, 1956;
St. Petersburg, Museum of Fine Arts/Atlanta,
The High Museum of Art, *Dutch Life in the
Golden Age*, Jan.-March/April-May, 1975.

painting is the curtain pulled aside at the top, a reference to the pictorial tradition of the "real" curtain drawn away from the painting proper. (It should be added, however, that an engraving by S. Savery of the theatre, 1658, shows curtains pulled back above the stage.) S.J. Gudlaugsson (see Bibliography) has pointed out that the major change from the actual theatre is the architrave, which Van Baden had made more classical by painting as a continuous element.

Gudlaugsson determined the author of the painting, a student of Dirk van Delen, on stylistic grounds and also from archival evidence. Van Baden did several views of churches, including one of the interior of the Gesú, and his painting of a portico, dated 1638, Museum, Copenhagen, is strikingly close in style to the Ringling work. Gudlaugsson also suggested that the play represented here is *De bedroge Speckdieven*, a comedy by Isaac de Groot, 1653, in which a character appears in a devil's costume, seen on the left; however, the figures on the stage itself are very thin and have been retouched, a circumstance that makes us hesitate about a more positive identification of the play, which nevertheless has clearly been influenced by the *Commedia dell'Arte*. The figures in Van Baden's other paintings are small and few in number; thus, it is likely that the four figures standing at the foreground balustrade, strikingly different in style from the rest of the painting, were executed by another, contemporary hand.

It is not surprising that Dutch artists often represented stage plays not only in this theatre (by Pieter Quast, Theatre Museum, Amsterdam) but also as performed in Chambers of Rhetoric, on improvised stages out-of-doors, and in honor of a visiting dignitary such as Marie de Médici. When Van Campen's theatre, after many alterations, finally burned down during a performance in 1772, the event was carefully recorded in Jan Fokke's *Historie van den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg*.
F.W.R.

This modest, but fascinating painting is the only contemporary painting showing in any detail the interior of Amsterdam's first theatre building, designed by Jacob van Campen, architect also of the Amsterdam City Hall and the Mauritshuis in The Hague. In spite of hints of van Campen's knowledge of Italian theatres such as Palladio's earlier *Teatro Olimpico*, the design is closer to Dutch models and indeed is conservative in its conception of the drama, rejecting the current European trend toward illusionism. Changing painted flats that could be fitted between the columns of the permanent set, based on the stages of the Dutch Chambers of Rhetoric, are the major concession to Italian innovations. In fact, the most illusionistic element in the



Dirk van Bergen

Haarlem, 1645 - Haarlem, 1690

62. *Italian Landscape* (SN 283)

Oil on panel;
12 x 15½ (30.5 x 39.4 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist, at top of fountain:
"D. Van Bergen 16 (82?)"

Provenance: According to Böhrer,
purchased by John Ringling in London.

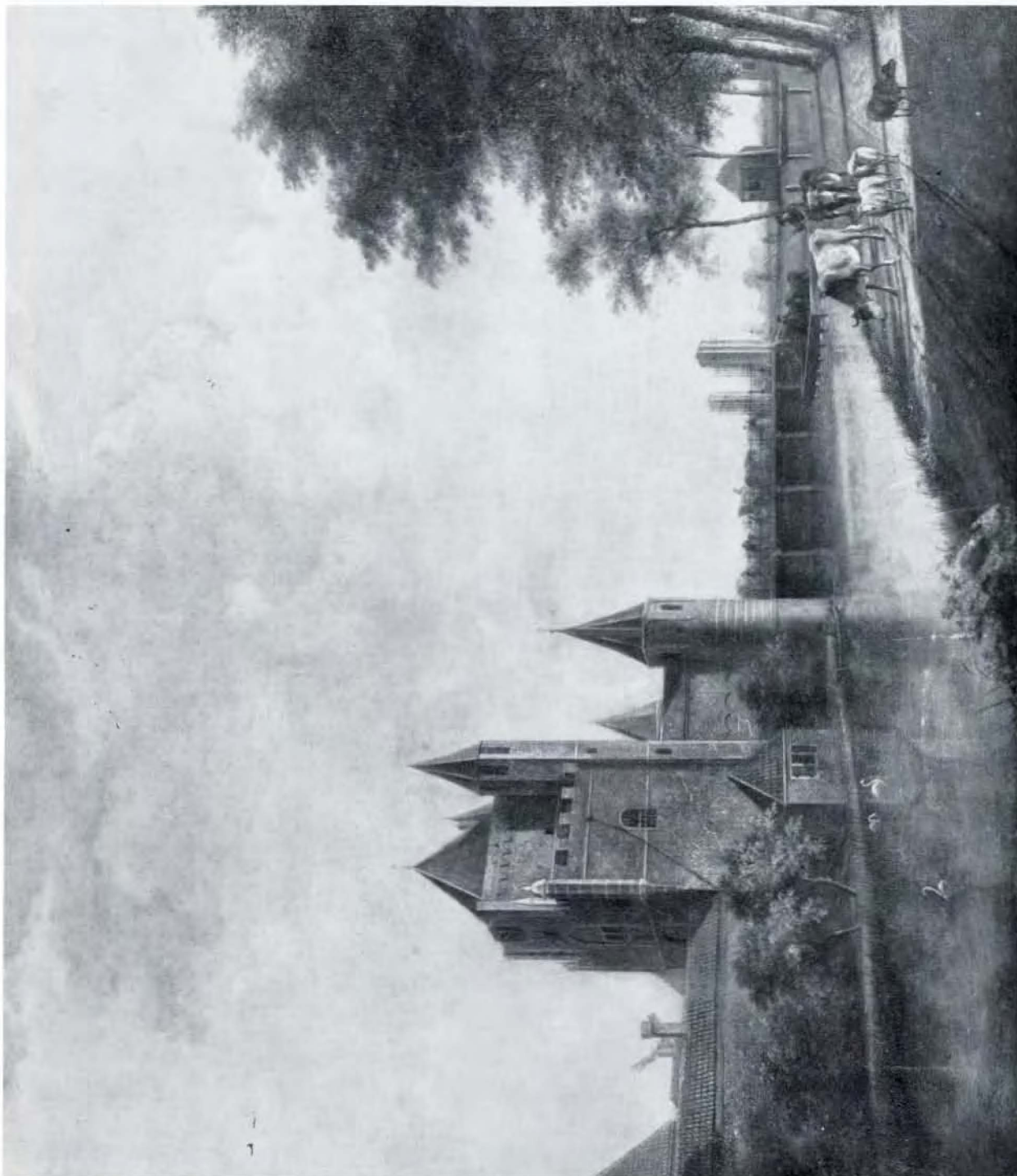
Bibliography: *Suida*, no. 283

Exhibitions: None

In this and other works by Dirk van Bergen, there is a conscious mixing and contrast of the classical past, for example, the ancient, overgrown fountain, and the picturesque poverty of the present, a world both antique and contemporary that was the special charm of Italy for Dutch artists in the seventeenth century. Van Bergen is not of the generation of Adam Pynacker, Johannes Lingelbach, and other Dutch artists who, with Claude Lorrain, created the enchanted, timeless, sunset world of the Roman campagna; rather by the 1660's, when he begins his career, this atmosphere was an accepted part of the Dutch pictorial vocabulary and it was not necessary for Dirk, or many of his contemporaries, actually to visit Italy in order to exploit it. Van Bergen's major source was his teacher, Adriaen van de Velde, whose serene and polished classicizing cattle scenes had a wide impact on later Dutch painters. Van Bergen's own work is particularly close to that of Simon van der Does and Willem Romeyn.

The Ringling painting dated 168(2), is similar to other such scenes by the artist in the early eighties, e.g., a work, dated 1681, in the sale, Duke of Bedford, Christie's, 19-1-1951, no. 6, and another, dated 1682, sale, Christie's, 1-4-1955, no. 2.

F.W.R.



Jan ten Compe

Amsterdam, 1713 - Amsterdam, 1761

63. The Amsterdam Gate, or Spaerwouder Poort, at Haarlem (SN 292)

Oil on panel;
14 x 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ (35.6 x 40 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist at the lower left:
"J. Ten Compe f. 1743."
Fragments of another Ten Compe signature at the lower right.

Provenance: American Art Association Sale, New York,
Oct. 30-31, 1929, no. 122;

John Ringling.

Bibliography: *Suida*, no. 292

Exhibitions: None

63a. Detail of signature and date at left



This is a view of the Amsterdam gate on the east side of the city wall of Haarlem, seen at sunset, with the cattle and sheep returning home. The gate had been built in the late fifteenth century, when Amsterdam had also erected a city wall; this rugged strongpoint is now the only surviving fragment of the Haarlem fortifications. In 1680, Abraham Rademaker had made an etching of the site, from precisely the same point as Ten Compe's painting; the etching was published in 1725 in a famous book of views, *Kabinet van Nederlandsche Outheden en Gezichten*, Amsterdam, no. 59, and may well have suggested to Ten Compe the unusual angle, from the side, that he has taken here. There is virtually no difference between Rademaker's and Ten Compe's detailed views of the structure architecturally, except for the loss of three or four small turrets and the addition of a window on the west wall. The Dutch interest in recording the cities they lived in derived not only from the fact that such a large proportion of the population was urban but also from their obsession with documentation. Haarlem was the subject of some of the most beautiful paintings in this genre in the seventeenth century, by Gerrit Berckheyde. In the eighteenth century, these city walls had come to serve little func-

tion—previously they had been used for tolls as well as defense—and this work, like so much eighteenth century Dutch painting, represents a nostalgia, in subject and style, for the golden century of the Netherlands.

Ten Compe painted other views of Haarlem and, indeed, depicted a variety of other cities, including Delft, Alkmaar, Rotterdam, Scheveningen, Utrecht and Amsterdam. Interestingly, most of his Amsterdam views are of the Waag, a gate of the late fifteenth century city wall much like the subject of the Ringling painting; once the Amsterdam boundaries had expanded, the Waag had come to be used as a weighhouse, anatomical theatre, guild hall, firehouse (in the nineteenth century), and, in our own time, inevitably, a museum. The Ringling work is one of Ten Compe's earliest extant paintings.

Under ultraviolet light, it is clear that the . . . p on the right have been added (or strengthened), the size and orientation of the house in the right background has changed and that there are various losses at the bottom and in the sky as well as other pentimenti in the wall and towers.
F.W.R.



Leendert Van der Cooghen

Haarlem, 1610 - Haarlem, 1681

or

Pieter de Grebber

Haarlem, ca. 1600 - Haarlem, 1653

64. *The Holy Family* (SN 242)

Oil on canvas;
44 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 30 (114 x 76.3 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Erich Gallery, N.Y.;
American Art Association Sale, New York, January 8,
1930, no. 117 (as Govaert Flinck);
John Ringling.

Bibliography: *Suida*, no. 242 as Leendert van der Cooghen.

Exhibitions: None

The condition of this painting is so questionable that it is difficult to arrive at an attribution with any certainty; the paint surface is now thin throughout—an earlier photograph (at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie) shows the composition with the figure of Joseph painted out. Clearly the work was executed in Haarlem in the middle third of the seventeenth century, and it has been attributed to both Pieter de Grebber and Leendert van der Cooghen, two major figures in the Haarlem High Baroque. Van der Cooghen's important work, the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, is close to the Ringling painting in its massive figures and flat, broad areas of color. On the other hand, the figure of the Virgin Mary in De Grebber's *Holy Family*, in the collection of Jean Hahn, Paris, is similar to the Mary in the Ringling canvas. On the mount of the Rijksbureau photograph, S.J. Gudlaugsson attributed the work to De Grebber and noted that a false signature of G. Flinck had been painted above an original signature, of which the letters "de G..." could still be distinguished (no longer visible). At any rate, this strong work testifies to the continuing vitality of Roman Catholic subjects and Roman Catholic artists in the heart of Calvinist Holland. F.W.R.



Johannes Gerritsz. van Cuylenburch

Amsterdam ?, before 1621 - ?

65. *A Smithy in Zwolle* (SN 271)

Oil on canvas;
32 x 26 (81.3 x 66 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Purchased by E.W. Lake at auction in London, 1845, £246, 15s;
Lake Sale, London, 1848, to Norton £55, 13s;
Fraser Estate Sale, Christie's, London, May 31, 1904, no. 51, £162 to Farrar;
Christie's, London, May 31, 1906, no. 107, £99, 15s to Bell;
Christie's, London, March 23, 1907, no. 140 to Durchlacher as agent for the Metropolitan Museum, New York; £231;
purchased by John Ringling at American Art Association Sale, Feb. 7, 1929 (property of Metropolitan Museum) as "after Ter Borch" for \$150.

Bibliography: **J. Verbeek**,
"Johannes van Cuylenburch en zijn vader Gerrit Lambertsz." *Oud-Holland*, 1955, no. II, pp. 67ff;
Suida, no. 271 as Esaias Boursse;
S.J. Gudlaugsson,
Terborch, vol. II, The Hague, 1960, p. 110.

Exhibitions: Hartford, **The Wadsworth Atheneum**,
Life in 17th Century Holland, Nov., 1950 - Jan., 1951;
Amsterdam, **Amserdams Historisch Museum**/Toronto,
Art Gallery of Ontario,
Opkomst en bloei van het Noordnederlandse stadgezicht in de 17de eeuw/The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and its Sources, 1977, cat. no. 108.

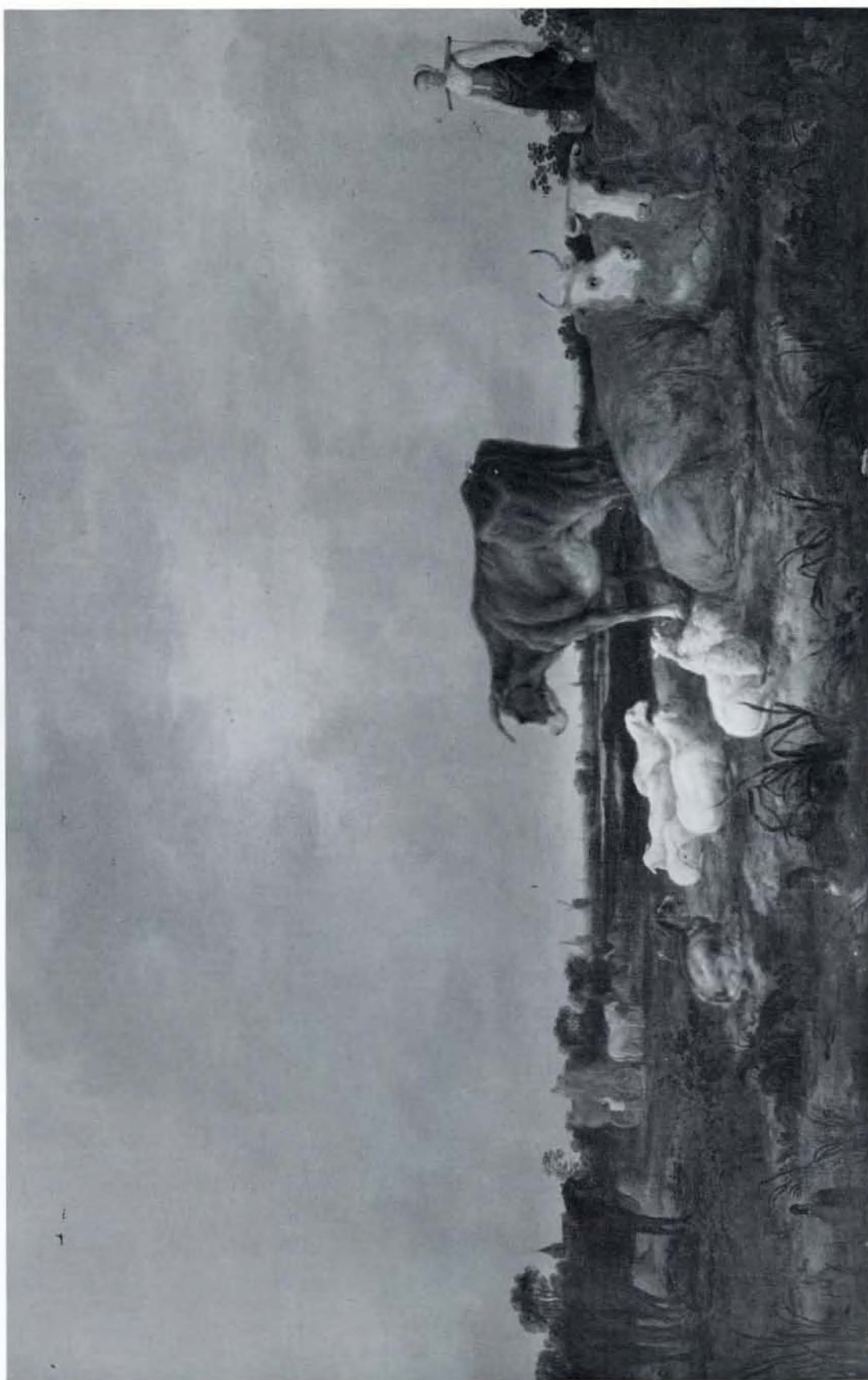
This work is a variant of a well-known painting by Gerard Terborch in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem (Gudlaugsson, no. 100A). Cuylenburch has adopted Terborch's composition, but has subtracted the overturned chair in the left foreground and the mother delousing her child's hair on the right, and has added the round Gelderse tower and square Nieuwe Kruittoren, on the left. These two towers are part of the architectural complex of both old and contemporary buildings that made up the Lutkepoort, a city gate of Zwolle. In dealing with this work and the whole *oeuvre* of this artist, J. Verbeek ("Johannes van Cuylenburch en zijn vader Gerrit Lambertsz.," *Oud-Holland*, 70, 1955, pp. 67-68), has brought together a convincing series of paintings, one of them showing the Lutkepoort, now in the Museum, Zwolle, and signed by Cuylenburch. The artist did three paintings in all of this gate and also another scene showing a grinder's family; this and other paintings reproduced by Verbeek are not so much dependent on Terborch as on such genre painters of the forties and fifties and Jacobus Vrel, the early Pieter de Hooch, the early Ludolf de Jongh, and Esaias Boursse. The city of Zwolle was a provincial center that attracted a good many artists, particularly Terborch but also Hendrick ten Oever.

The rooster, whetstone, vise, and other tools suggest that the artist may have intended an emblematic undertone, perhaps having to do with Labor. An added (?) inscription on the doghouse to the right has been almost completely effaced; only the initial "R" remains.

F.W.R.

65a. Gerard Terborch
A Smithy
Staatliche Mussen, Berlin





Follower of **Aelbert Cuyp**

Dordrecht, 1620 - Dordrecht, 1691

66. *Landscape with Milkmaid and Cattle* (SN 282)

Oil on canvas;

55¼ x 88⅞ (140.3 x 224.5 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Annotated at lower left "A. Cuyp."

Provenance: Van der Pots Sale, 1825;

Maurice Kann Collection, Paris;

Sale, Paris, June 9, 1911, purchased by Wildenstein

in partnership with F. Kleinberger;

purchased by John Ringling from Kleinberger, New York,

1928;

John Ringling.

Bibliography: **John Smith,**

A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters.

vol. V, London, 1834, cat. no. 158;

C. Hofstede de Groot,

A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most

Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century.

vol. II, 1908, p. 69, no. 216, as Cuyp, c. 1645;

Stephen Reiss,

Aelbert Cuyp,

Boston, 1975, p. 93, plates 58 and p. 206.

Exhibitions: None

This fine painting has clearly been influenced by the landscapes of Aelbert Cuyp, with their cattle quietly arranged in flat meadows under a deep sky. The condition of the work is poor; the paint is thin throughout; whole figures and other such elements have been repainted, such as the cow reclining closer to us, the reeds in the foreground, and the milkmaid; and the signature in the lower left is a later addition. Nevertheless, such details as the horses, the ducks, the haywain and the figures on or beside it, and the trees behind them have survived intact, and are of a quality and freshness that suggest that this is a seventeenth century painting and not an eighteenth or nineteenth century imitation.

It is, however, difficult to attribute this work to a particular artist with any certainty. The style of the trees suggests a date in 1640's or 1650's. The conception of the smaller animals is close to that of Dirk Wijntrack and Anthoine van Borssum, while the style of the work as a whole recalls Dirk Bleker and, most strongly, Govert Camphuysen. Roughly the same composition of cows, sheep, and milkmaid reappears in a painting by Albert Klomp, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

F.W.R.



Imitator of **Aelbert Cuyp**

Dordrecht, 1620 - Dordrecht, 1691

67. *Landscape with Cows* (SN 738)

Oil on panel;

41 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{3}{8}$ (104.3 x 51.8 cm.)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Gottlieb, 1961.

Inscriptions: Annotated lower left "A Cuyp 1646"

Provenance: Gottlieb Collection, Sarasota.

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

This work from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century was not painted by one of the major followers of Cuyp, such as Jacob van Strij or Barend Koekkoek, but rather is a clumsy pastiche of many of Cuyp's favorite motifs, such as the milkmaid, the flute-playing shepherd, cows, water, trees, and a sunset.

F.W.R.



Imitator of **Jacob Duck**

Utrecht, 1600 - Utrecht, 1660

68. *Soldiers and Women* (SN 734)

Oil on panel;

21 x 28 $\frac{1}{8}$ (53.3 x 72.1 cm.)

Gift of Mr. Fredrick Caminer, 1960.

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Mr. Fredrick Caminer, New York.

Bibliography: *Le Chronique des Arts, Supplement Gazette des Beaux-Arts*,
no. 1128, Feb., 1963, p. 29, pl. 120;

Helen Comstock,

"The Connoisseur in America," *Connoisseur*,

July, 1962, p. 206;

Art Quarterly,

Autumn, 1962, p. 267.

Exhibitions: None

In spite of one or two competent passages (such as the two standing men in the far right), it is clear that this painting is either a heavily restored original of the seventeenth century or a much later imitation. Aside from the clumsy, even garish restoration of most of the figures, the two panels that make up the painting suggest a date later than the seventeenth century. The main panel, including all the figures, has a grain that is very obvious through the paint surface, curving at the top to suggest proximity to a knot; this curving does not continue onto the other panel, which begins just above the line of the heads. It is unusual to have two such different grains and indeed to have such an obtrusive and irregular grain.

F.W.R.



Karel Dujardin

Amsterdam, 1622 - Venice, 1678

69. *Hagar and Ishmael in the Wilderness* (SN 270)

Oil on canvas;
73 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 55 (187.1 x 142 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed on fragment of cornice, lower-left:
"K DU JARDIN fe"

Provenance: Sold by John van Spangen, London, Feb. 10, 1748 to
Clark for £5.10;
P. and W. van Hunthum sale, Amsterdam, April 22, 1762,
no. 2, Fl. 330 to Wenix for Locquet;
P. Locquet sale, Amsterdam, Sept. 22, 1783, no. 165,
Fl. 4430 to Yver;
de Vouge sale, Paris, 1784, Francs 3400;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **C. Hofstede de Groot**,
Catalogue of Dutch Painters,
IX, 1926, p. 297, no. 3;
Frank Simpson,
"Dutch Paintings in England Before 1760,"
The Burlington Magazine,
vol. 95, 1953, pp. 40-41;
Pierre Rosenberg,
"Le Musée de Sarasota en Floride,"
L'Oeil,
no. 138, June, 1966, pp. 4-11, color pl., p. 6.

Exhibitions: None

69b. Karel Dujardin *Peter Healing the Sick* Van Hattum Collection, Ellewoutsdijk



This dramatic, monumental canvas is one of Dujardin's masterpieces.

In a work that owes more to Roman, Bolognese, and French artists working in Rome than to his Dutch contemporaries, this Italianate painter has arranged the angel and Hagar and the tree trunks in a massive "V" that dominates the composition. The drama of the swirling drapery and gleaming highlights of white, red, and blue is beautifully played against this tightly balanced composition. The language of hands is brilliantly organized here: Hagar's left hand touches the gourd, stopper off, presumably empty, to indicate her plight in the wilderness, her right hand holds the cup Ishmael drinks from, her salvation, the left hand of the angel points to the fountain that has miraculously appeared to provide that water, and his right points upward to the real source of her help. This clear progression upward of the hands tells the story of her plight, her rescue, the means of her rescue, and its ultimate source.

Although the expulsion of Hagar seems to be slightly more popular in Dutch art and the comforting of these figures is apparently slightly more popular in Italian art, many Dutch painters, particularly in the Rembrandt and Italianate groups, do treat the subject of Hagar being saved in the wilderness, such as Rembrandt himself, Jan Lievens, Adriaen van de Velde, Nicolaes Berchem, Hendrik Heerschop, and others. It may be that part of the vogue for this subject is due to the seventeenth century Dutch conception of women as either victims or victors, a recurrent theme in



69a. Karel Dujardin
The Conversion of Saul
The National Art Gallery, London

contemporary painting and prints (cf. Franklin W. Robinson, "The Love-Sick Maiden", *Portfolio*, I, 4, 1979). The subtlest expression of the theme in the context of the Hagar story is Rembrandt's small etching of the expulsion dated 1637; here, not only has Rembrandt contrasted the thin, unsympathetic Sarah with the plump, weeping Hagar, and the smug Isaac peering around the half-door with the mutely eloquent figure of Ishmael, seen from behind, but he has also presented Abraham as a man torn between his two families—he almost seems to be beckoning Hagar, instead of dismissing her. In G.B. Castiglione's reflection of this print (Chatsworth Settlement), the artist has varied the composition just enough to transform this poignant scene into a righteous ejection of the mistress and illegitimate son, just as Nicolaes Maes, in an early painting in the Metropolitan Museum, makes Abraham into a lecherous old man even now making a pass at the contemptuous Hagar.

Although he is best known for his bucolic visions of the Roman *campagna*, Dujardin painted a good number of religious and mythological scenes, particularly in the 1660's. There are three religious paintings from the early sixties that form the high point of Dujardin's career: *The Conversion of Saul*, signed and dated 1662, National Gallery, London, 186.5 x 134.5 cm., Hofstede de Groot 25; *Peter Healing the Sick*, signed and dated 1663, Van Hattum Collection, Elle-

woutsdijk, 175 x 138 cm., Hofstede de Groot 26; and the Ringling *Hagar and Ishmael*, signed but not dated, 186.6 x 112.7 cm., Hofstede de Groot 3. The three paintings are all close stylistically and in size and perhaps in theme: the heathen being converted, the sick being healed, and the outcasts being comforted. The diamond composition of the *Saul* is reminiscent of the "V" in the Ringling painting, and there may be parallels in their subjects: the Old and New Testament sinners being accepted by God. Certainly the episodes from the stories of Peter and Paul connect these two canvases, and the kneeling woman on the right in the *Peter* is close in pose and profile to our Hagar. (There are also similarities between the Ringling angel and his gestures, and the hands in the artist's *Angel and Tobias*, Budapest, Hofstede de Groot 7). Whether or not Dujardin conceived of these three extraordinary paintings as a series, certainly they take their place as one of the great achievements in Dutch religious painting of the seventeenth century.

A note on the painting's condition: There have been losses in the left arm of the angel, throughout the sky, in Hagar's blue sash and red dress, in the tree trunks in the upper right, and in the lower right, as well as smaller losses elsewhere.

F.W.R.



Dutch Anonymous

Ca. 1475-1485

70. *The Brother of the King Threatened by Death* (SN 198)

Oil on panel;
26 x 20½ (66 x 52.1 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Émile Gavet, Paris;
Mrs. Oliver H. Belmont, Newport, Rhode Island;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Émile Molinier**,
Collection of Émile Gavet,
Paris, 1889, no. 801, pl. LXXX;
Suida, no. 198 as Flemish Painter of the
XV Century, *The Martyrdom of a Saint*;
J. Bruyn,
"De Gedaanteverwisselingen van Damocles,"
Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,
1964, pp. 53ff., fig. 6;
Edmund A. Bowles,
Musikleben im 15. Jahrhundert,
Leipzig, 1977,
"Musikgeschichte in Bildern, vol. III: Musik des
Mittelalters unter der Renaissance,"
fig. 142 (with discussion).

Exhibitions: Milwaukee, **Milwaukee Art Institute**,
The Story of Medicine in Art, Sept.-Oct., 1953.

Although gravely damaged and marred by huge gaps from an overscrupulous policy of non-restoration of inpainting, this charming picture nevertheless manages to present a large town square, filled with figures, and a complex narrative. The intrinsic visual interest of the Ringling picture is further enhanced by its rarity, for it is one of the few authentic fifteenth century Dutch paintings in North America.

The puzzling subject of the Sarasota picture has been definitively sleuthed out by J. Bruyn ("De gedaanteverwisselingen van Damocles," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XV, 1964, 53-66) as the tale of the sword of Damocles. A parable of virtue, the story was best known during the Renaissance from its account in the fifth book of Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (V, 21); during the Middle Ages, it received further embellishment into an *exemplum*, or illustrative story. In that incarnation, the story found a place within the sermons of Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240) and within the early fourteenth century collection known as the *Gesta Romanorum* (Chapter 143): "De timore extremi iudicii" (Of the fear of final judgment).

The story tells of a king who had ruled that a man condemned to death would have his time announced by a trumpet outside his house before dawn. One day, the king's own brother, immersed in festivity, heard the clarion call for himself. He then found himself placed on a high stool above a pit and surrounded on four sides by executioners with sharpened broadswords. Above his head hung another sword, suspended by a silken thread. After that day, despite the allure of music and delicacies, he could no longer enjoy the pleasures of life. The king explained to him that the entire scene had an allegorical meaning: the four fragile legs of the stool were the four elements from which his perishable body was constructed; the pit below was the fire of hell; the sword suspended above his head was the constant threat of divine judgment, threatening him with death at any moment; and the four other swords were the remaining threats of death, personal sins, the devil, and wormy decay of his earthly remains.

The Sarasota picture follows closely the text of the *Gesta Romanorum*. In the left background, death trumpets sound outside the house of the king's brother, who is led into the public square under guard. In the plaza of the foreground, the brother sits on a stool above a fiery pit, his head under a pendulous sword, suspended like a noose from a yardarm. In the painting, two crossbowmen have taken the place of the four swordsmen in the tale. The luxurious costume of the victim sets him apart in rank from more humbly dressed spectators; his dress also serves to associate the victim (though not necessarily as a brother) with the king and the rich royal fashion.

One striking element of the painting is that the victim is not bound or tied to his uncomfortable location. Instead, he seems to be sitting calmly, with a resigned gesture of hands crossed above his breast instead of any active form of defiance or protest. This resignation is what prompts such widespread discussion and wonderment among the spectators. Indeed, the entire scene—with the victim calm in the face of a threat of certain death, with a well-dressed but menacing ruler who is responsible for this persecution, and with a host of amazed and bewildered spectators standing around in idle conversation—resembles nothing so much as the standard scenes of martyrdom of Christian saints as depicted in Netherlandish fifteenth century art (e.g. Dieric Bouts' *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*, Church of St. Pierre, Louvain, 1460's). In this respect, the picture is itself an effective *exemplum*, revealing that the brother of the king has made his peace with his fate and accepts death calmly, like a good Christian. Such a sentiment was much preached during the fifteenth century as "the art of dying well". Numerous tracts, many of them illustrated with woodcuts, entitled the *Ars Moriendi*, attest to the general popularity of this concern and form a cultural framework for understanding the appeal of a theme as unusual as the Sword of Damocles. (For an example of the *Ars Moriendi* and a general discussion of the widespread concern with death in this period, cf. the exhibition catalogue *Europe in Torment 1450-1550*, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, 1974, 76-9, no. 25.)

Bruyn, following Professor J.G. van Gelder, ascribed the Sarasota picture to a "Brussels Painter, ca. 1475". This attribution has much merit. Features which are most striking about the Ringling painting are its strong suggestion of space and specific locale. The artist has presented palace, square, houses, and urban thoroughfares, and he has peopled them with a crowd of colorfully-costumed burghers. Such effects were precisely the visual vocabulary of the Brussels masters of the 1470's and 1480's, anonymous painters whose tag names stem from their most famous or extensive surviving works: the Master of the St. Catherine Legend and the Master of the Legend of St. Barbara (cf. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting IV*. Hugo van der Goes, Engl. ed., Leyden, 1969, 56-62; *Primitifs flamands anonymes*, exh. cat., Bruges, 1969, 87-114, 233-49). Paul Philippot ("La fin du XVe siècle et les origines d'une nouvelle conception de l'image dans la peinture des Pays-Bas," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XI, 1962, 11-19) has situated these characteristics with the developing relationship between figure and setting in Netherlandish art, underscoring the importance of these new spatial compositions. The Ringling picture, however, cannot be associated precisely with



either the St. Catherine Master's languid figures or the stockier and more dramatic characters of the St. Barbara Master. Nor can it be compared closely to any other known Brussels (or Bruges) master of this period, even though its general staging and presentation seems to be properly located within the later decades of the fifteenth century. The closest possible comparison to the Sarasota image is another martyrdom, the *Martyrdom of Saints Crespin and Crespinian* (Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, illustrated in *Primitifs flamands anonymes*, cat. no. 47). There, the scene of the left wing, where the two saints are boiled in oil before a city palace on a public square, shows the same fascination with accessory figures, costumes, buildings, and with the general dramatic staging of the scene. But that picture also demonstrates the fact that the Ringling picture offers figure types which belong to a totally different pictorial tradition—the distinctive but still hazy tradition of fifteenth century Holland.

Prior to the late fifteenth century painter Geertgen tot sint Jans of Haarlem, there are very few certifiably extant pictures by Dutch masters (for the issue in general, the basic study remains J. Snyder, "The Early Haarlem School of Painting," *Art Bulletin*, XLII, 1960, 36-55). Many of those which have been classified as fifteenth century Dutch paintings are also closely related to an artist who hailed from Holland but spent most of his active career in Louvain: Dieric Bouts (d. 1475). Bouts' figure types are tall, lanky individuals, their faces marked by prominent bone structure and sombre, almost wistful expressions. The Ringling *Damocles* painting does not have the sobriety which is so characteristic of Bouts' figures, but it does incorporate a number of Boutsian qualities. The first of these is the attention to rich costuming of slender figures. The dress and facial type, as well as the general pose of the king at Sarasota finds a close precedent in the central monarch of Bouts' *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*. Bouts, too, features the overall emphasis on setting and full, crowded re-enactment of narrative in his works, such as his final major commission, the Justice of Otto cycle for the town hall of Louvain. In Bouts' *Execution of the Count* from the Otto cycle, left uncompleted at the artist's death in 1475, we find an open town space with figures filling the corners of the site of execution and a view off into the left distance to the town gate. Though his figures lack the stolid dignity of Bouts', the Ringling Master nevertheless composes his picture along the general lines of Bouts' formulas fully as much as any Brussels examples.

Bouts' achievement diffused into fifteenth century Dutch painting by means of an anonymous painter known as the Master of the Tiburtine Sybil (Snyder, 49-55). This artist, usually localized to the city of Haarlem, is considered to have been a Bouts pupil, and he features expansive architectural spaces with figures in more natural scale to their surroundings. Closer in appearance to the Ringling master is another anonymous Dutch painter, the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines, who has been localized in Delft on the basis of his woodcut designs for book illustrations published in that city. One of the Virgo Master's earliest pictures stands close to the Ringling *Damocles*. It is a small panel of *Christ being presented to the People* (Chicago, Art Institute) and shows a public square with slender, fine-featured figures like the Sarasota picture. Other late fifteenth century Dutch images which compare closely to the Ringling *Damocles* are woodcut illustrations from Dutch printed books. In particular, Haarlem illustrations published by the firm of Ballaert, some of them derived from the Master of the Tiburtine Sybil (cf. Snyder, 53-5) and dating between the years 1484-6, offer

striking similarities. One of them, from the 1485 *Historie van Jason* (Snyder, 22) presents a bearded king whose scale, posture, costume, and facial type link him closely with the Ringling monarch. Also related to the Ringling picture in the Haarlem *Jason* woodcut is the open courtyard before the palace and the well-distributed groups of figures, including one seen from the rear in the lower right corner, just as in the Ringling *Damocles*.

Specific fashions to be found in the Haarlem illustrations can be compared with the Sarasota picture. Most notably the pointed henin worn by the woman at the window of the *Jason* woodcut repeats the headdress worn by the courtly lady in the doorway at Sarasota. A similar henin can be seen in other woodcuts of the Haarlem workshop, such as the *Historien van Troyen* (Snyder, fig. 23). The henin was a favored luxury fashion for women in the court during her life-around the time of Mary of Burgundy (d. 1482) and appears in numerous manuscripts made for the court during her lifetime, such as the famous *Hours of Mary of Burgundy* (Vienna, Austrian National Library, ms. 1857). Both the henin and the Dutch woodcuts help to date and to localize the Sarasota *Damocles* to Holland in the early fourth quarter of the fifteenth century.

L.S.

Dutch Anonymous

Ca. 1630

71. *Portrait of a Man, Three Boys and a Girl* (SN 257)

Oil on canvas;
79 1/4 x 69 1/4 (202.6 x 177.2 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: Purchased by John Ringling at the Blakeslee Sale, American Art Gallery, New York, June 3, 1925, no. 78 (as Michiel Mierevelt).
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 257 as Daniel Mytens the Elder.
Exhibitions: None

Dutch portraits of the early seventeenth century, partly because of their sheer quantity, sometimes are difficult to attribute. The present work has been given to Daniel Mytens the Elder; Ellis Waterhouse (museum files) tentatively suggested Cornelius Johnson, the Anglo-Dutch artist who, like Mytens, worked in both England and the Netherlands. It was once sold as Michiel Mierevelt (see Provenance), who was an especially prolific portraitist. This writer tends to believe it is by Paulus Moreelse or a close follower. Moreelse was himself a student of Mierevelt. The painting may have been cut on the right, where the mother, and possibly a babe in arms, might have been. The clothing suggests a date in the 1630's.

F.W.R.



Dutch Anonymous

Ca. 1610-1620

72. *Portrait of a Woman* (SN 255)

Oil on panel;
30 x 29 (99 x 73.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 255

Exhibitions: None

This authentic, if undistinguished, portrait is in the tradition of Michiel Mierevelt and Jan van Ravesteyn; it is somewhat similar to a portrait of Sara Bosschart, wife of Arent Jacob van der Graeff, signed and dated by Mierevelt in 1618, Dienst voor Rijksverspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague. The style of the clothes would place the work ca. 1610-1620. The coarser touch in the table to the right suggests that this detail may have been added by a later hand.
F.W.R.



Dutch Anonymous Seventeenth Century

73. *The Supper at Emmaus* (SN 116)

Oil on canvas;
47 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 67 $\frac{1}{4}$ (120.9 x 170.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Echenhauser Collection, London;
Dr. John E. Stillwell Collection, New York;
Bought by John Ringling from John E. Stillwell Sale,
Anderson Galleries, New York, December, 1-3, 1927, no.
452, (as Caravaggio).

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 116 as "Caravaggesque Painter, about 1620;"

Benedict Nicolson,

"Figures at a Table" at Sarasota,"

The Burlington Magazine,

vol. 107, May, 1960, p. 226;

Martin Soria,

"Spanish Paintings in the Bowe Museum,"

Connoisseur,

1961, pp. 30ff.

Exhibitions: Sarasota, **Ringling Museum of Art**,
Figures at a Table, 1960, cat. no. 24
as Hendrik van Somer.

This painting is by an Italian, French, or, most likely, Dutch follower of Caravaggio; its previous attribution to Hendrik van Somer, rightly rejected by Nicolson (see Bibliography), cannot be maintained by comparison with the signed and dated *St. Jerome* by this master in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome. The style and subject are reminiscent of J.R. van Voerst, 1637 (*Old Woman Weighing Money*, in the collection of P. de la Baudière, Paris, 1937), and, to a lesser degree, of Théophile Bugot, called Trufamond. However, the smooth textures of the skin, intense yet clumsy gestures and crowded space suggest a follower of a Utrecht artist such as Jan van Bronckhorst or, most particularly, Jan van Bylert. The figures in the Ringling painting recall Bylert's *St. Sebastian*, 1624, Galerie Harrach, Vienna, his *Laban and Rachel*, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, and his *Calling of Matthew*, Old-Catholic parish of St. Maria, Utrecht. The small and awkward table, with the barely competent still-life on it, must be by another hand, probably Italian. A replica or copy of *St. James*, the disciple on the right, is in the collection of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

F.W.R.

73a. Dutch Anonymous, Seventeenth Century

A Pilgrim from a Supper at Emmaus
Brown University Collection,
Providence, Rhode Island





Dutch Anonymous Seventeenth Century

74. *Portrait of Hendrick Backer* (SN 261)

Oil on canvas;
43 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 36 (109.9 x 91.4 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: John Ringling
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 261 as Carel de Moor.
Exhibitions: None

The author of this fascinating painting may not be identifiable, but the sitter is known; the portrait is copied directly from a large painting by Karel Dujardin, *The Regents of the Amsterdam Correction House*, 1669, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Hendrick Backer is represented seated at a table with his fellow regents in the Amsterdam work; the Ringling copyist has taken over every detail of the pose and dress and has even included the classical pilasters and wall decorations in the Dujardin. Clearly the sitter, or his family, must have commissioned the Ringling artist to paint a record of the relevant part of the larger painting, which would have been hung in the board room of the correction house itself. Susan Donahue Kuretsky (*The Paintings of Jacob Ochtervelt* (1634-1682), Montclair, N.J. figs. 163, 164) has pointed out a variation, by Ochtervelt, of the Dujardin composition. F.W.R.

74a. **Karel Dujardin**
The Regents of the Amsterdam Correction House,
1669
The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam





Dutch Anonymous

Second quarter of the Seventeenth Century

75. *Still Life with Fruit, Flowers and a Lizard* (SN 291)

Oil on panel;

14 x 18 (35.6 x 45.7 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 291 as Nicolaas (Claes) van Heussen;

"The Connoisseur in America,"

Connoisseur,

vol. 161, Jan., 1966, pp. 68ff., pl., p. 68

Exhibitions: None

This painting has been attributed to Claes van Heussen and called "in the tradition of Van Es" (inscription on the mount of a photograph by S.J. Gudlaugsson, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie). The basket with the fruit certainly reminds us of paintings attributed to Van Es (Pinacoteca, Turin), but the arrangement of flowers and shells in front of the basket are closer to Bosschaert and Van der Ast. At any rate, this work is not by an original master, but rather a follower, probably in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

F.W.R.



Dutch Anonymous Late Seventeenth Century

76. *Februarius* (SN 618)

Oil on canvas;

36 x 42 (91.4 x 106.6 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Upper right, "FEBRUARIUS."

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

This composition was taken from a print by Theodor Matham that was in turn copied from a painting by the German artist Joachim van Sandrart. The fat, jovial cook presiding over a still life of beef, chicken, pork and a peacock pie, is from a series of *The Months* and represents *February* (note Pisces, the fish, at the far, upper right).
W.H.W.



Dutch Anonymous Eighteenth Century

77. *Figures Among Ruins* (SN 284)

Oil on canvas affixed to panel;
16 x 19 (40.6 x 48.3 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: John Ringling
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 284 as Cornelius van de Velde.
Exhibitions: None

This badly flaking canvas is in the tradition of those Italianate Dutch painters, such as Bartholomeus Breenbergh, who mixed contemporary peasant figures with ancient ruins.
F.W.R.



Dutch Anonymous Nineteenth Century

78. *The Tailor Shop* (SN 456)

Oil on panel;
13 x 10½ (33 x 26.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

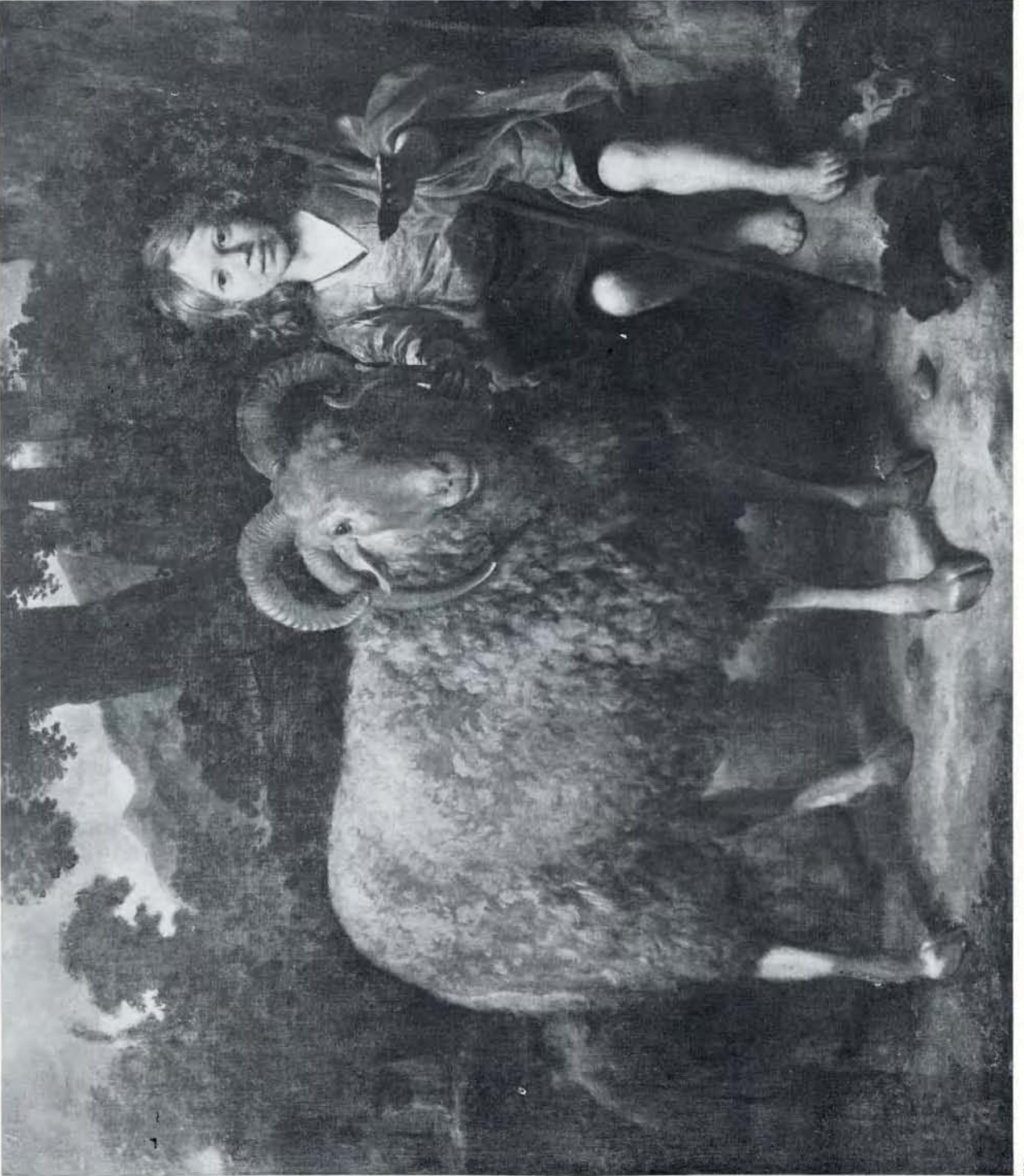
Provenance: American Art Association sale, New York,
Jan. 17, 1930, no. 605;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

This composition is loosely based on a *Tailor's Workshop* by Quirin van Brekelenkam in the Rijksmuseum (no. 628) that is dated 1661. The Ringling painting leaves out the two apprentices sitting cross-legged on the work table at the left.

W.H.W.



Gerbrand van den Eeckhout

Amsterdam, 1621 - Amsterdam, 1674

79. *Allegorical Portrait of a Boy with a Ram* (SN 264)

Oil on canvas;
52 x 62 (132.1 x 157.5 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist, lower right:
"G. V. Eeckhout f, 1662,"

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: *Suida*, no. 264

Exhibitions: None

This important painting, now badly damaged by exposure to heat, shows the breadth and power that this Rembrandt follower was capable of in his *portraits histories*. The historiated portrait is a common genre in seventeenth century Dutch painting, and numerous artists represented their patrons and their families as famous characters from the Bible or ancient history, such as Venus or Adonis or Jacob and his kindred (see A. Pigler, "Gruppenbildnisse mit historisch verkleideten Figuren und ein Hauptwerk des Johannes van Noordt," *Acta Historiae . . . Hungaricae*, Budapest, II, 1955, pp. 178-179, and Franklin W. Robinson, "The Banquet of Anthony and Cleopatra by Jan de Bray," *Bulletin of the Currier Gallery of Art*, 1969). Gerbrand van den Eeckhout was especially fond of representing children in a pastoral setting, often with goats or sheep, as in his *Children on a Terrace Playing with a Goat*, 1667, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, *A Family as Shepherds*, 1667, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, and *The Children of Altetus Tolling and Aleid Janssen*, 1667, sale, Amsterdam (Muller), 1-7-1908, no. 17. The Ringling youth is similar to the children in these paintings from the sixties, especially to the boy with the dog in the portrait of the Tolling and Janssen children; however, his portrait of a boy, dated 1653, Lille, is, perhaps, even closer in type.

The boy in the Ringling painting may be represented as St. John the Baptist, or, as E. Haverkamp-Begemann has suggested (museum files), Ishmael in the wilderness; Van den Eeckhout seems to have used the same model for the young Christ, arguing with the doctors in the temple, in the *Kunsthalle*, Hamburg.

The condition of the work is now lamentable; the second sheep, for example, is barely visible reclining to the left, and the painting has become almost a monochrome. An earlier photograph in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, shows the work in a better state of preservation, as well as the complete signature, "G.V. Eeckhout f." In 1959 a date of 1662 on the painting was also read (museum files).

F.W.R.



80.



81.

Imitator of **Maria la Fargue**

The Hague, 1732 - The Hague, 1782

80. *The Knife Grinder* (SN 293)

Oil on panel;
10 x 11¼ (25.4 x 28.6 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Annotated, lower left: "Maria H. LaFargue 1782"

Provenance: Anderson Galleries sale, New York,
April, 1929, no. 215

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 293 as Maria H. La Fargue.

Exhibitions: None

Imitator of **Jan van Goyen**

Leiden, 1596 - The Hague, 1656

81. *River Scene* (SN 498)

Oil on panel;
6 x 13¼ (15.2 x 34.9 cm.)

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None



Follower of **Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem**
Haarlem, 1562 - Haarlem, 1638

82. *The Golden Age* (SN 209)

Oil on panel;
23½ x 30 (59.7 x 76.2 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: John Ringling
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 209 as Flemish Painter about 1600.
Exhibitions: None

This panel is probably a seventeenth century version of a composition by Cornelis van Haarlem (or Joachim van Wttewael); the contrast between the compact modelling of the figures and the looser, feathery touch and darker tones of the trees suggests that two hands may have been at work here.

F.W.R.





Frans Hals

Antwerp, 1585 - Haarlem, 1666

83. *Portrait of Pieter Jacobsz. Olycan* (SN 251)

- Oil on canvas;
43 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 34 $\frac{1}{8}$ (111.1 x 86.5 cm.)
J.R., 1936
- Inscriptions: The Olycan coat-of-arms
is painted in the upper right corner.
- Provenance: Cited in the inventory of Olycan's daughter,
Geertruyd, widow of Jacob Benningh, Haarlem,
November 11, 1666;
Sutton Hall, May, 1922;
A. Reyre, London, 1926;
purchased by John Ringling in England for
\$100,000.
- Bibliography: **W.R. Valentiner**,
"Rediscovered Paintings by Frans Hals,"
Art in America
XVI, 1928, pp. 235ff, pp. 248ff;
W.R. Valentiner,
"New Additions to the Work of Frans Hals,"
Art in America,
XXIII, 1935, pp. 85ff, p. 102, no. 16;
W.R. Valentiner,
Frans Hals Paintings in America,
Westport, Conn., 1936, p. 66;
K. Erasmus,
"Frans Hals and Jan de Bray: Some Newly
Identified Portraits,"
The Burlington Magazine,
LXXV, 1939, p. 239;
Von Georg Poensgen,
"Rückblick auf die Frans-Hals-Ausstellung in
Haarlem,"
Pantheon,
VI, Nov.-Dec., 1962, pp. 379ff. pl. no. 3, p. 381;
Seymour Slive,
Frans Hals,
London, 1970, vol. I, pp. 123ff, vol. II, pl. 206,
208; vol. III (1974), pp. 68ff.
- Exhibitions: Birmingham, **Birmingham Museum of Art**,
The Archaic Smile, Jan.-Feb., 1956;
Haarlem, **Frans Halsmuseum**,
*Frans Hals Exhibition on the Occasion of the
Centenary of the Municipal Museum at Haarlem*,
June-Sept., 1962, cat. no. 44.

This masterpiece shows the portraiture of Frans Hals at its best. The generally adequate condition of the painting allows us to see the artist's brilliant brushwork; for example, the brushstrokes in the hair and ruff are almost transparent and we can see through individual strokes to layers beneath layers. These transparent passages contrast beautifully with the solidity of the flesh, the bunched muscles of the forehead, the bags under the eyes, and the florid cheeks. The scumbled cuffs are set against the massive hands. The painting as a whole is dominated by the dramatic contrast of white ruff, beard and hair, and black suit and cloak; the only other "colors" are the reds and pinks of the head and hands, details which are, of course, the main focus of the viewer's interest. Thus, a ring of white is set on top of a black pyramid, and the flesh tones are juxtaposed against the white, while this standing figure as a whole is set against a neutral, gray-green background. We can even sense the difference between the quick, apparently spontaneous brush strokes in the ruff and hair and the more careful, built-up areas of the

face. In this way, Hals takes a very familiar portrait convention and, by contrasting colors, brush strokes, and transparency of touch, creates a unique and vivid image of a forceful personality.

Under ultraviolet and strong light, it is clear that there have been losses in the right eye, in the ruff over the shoulder, in the wall to the right, and most particularly the upper chest and left shoulder, which are too flat and awkward (the top four buttons have been repainted). The shield in the upper right has been almost completely overpainted; the present ostrich and ewer are very different in touch, for example, from the sparkling and original nail just above the shield. However, these problems in no way reflect on the identification of the sitter, who appears elsewhere in seventeenth century painting and whose various family portraits are well documented. (The ostrich here holds a horseshoe in his mouth, since as emblem books and poets John Lyly and Marianne Moore have pointed out, "The estridge digesteth harde yrone to preserve his health.")

In fact, as Slive points out (I, pp. 123, 124, III, pp. 63, 68-70), Olycan and his family helped administer the city of Haarlem in the seventeenth century. Olycan himself was a brewer, burgermeester and a member of the States-General, and Hals painted nine members of his family a total of eleven times. Included in this array were Olycan's wife, their two sons, a daughter and son-in-law, a daughter-in-law, and his wife's sister and brother-in-law.

Slive (III, p. 69) rightly points out that although Hals' portrait of Olycan's wife Maritge Vooght, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, is dated 1639, the Sarasota painting, in its broad, open brushwork, looks forward to the 1640's. Indeed, so striking is the difference in style between the two works that it is possible that the Sarasota painting was in fact executed at a later date, as a pendant to the seated wife.

F.W.R.



83a. Detail



83b. **Frans Hals**
Portrait of Maritge Vooght
The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Jan Davidsz. de Heem

Utrecht, 1606 - Antwerp, 1684

84. *Still Life with Parrots* (SN 289)

- Oil on canvas;
59 1/4 x 45 1/4 (150.5 x 116.2 cm.)
J.R. 1936
- Inscriptions: Signed by the artist, lower right:
"F.D.De Heem. f"
- Provenance: Collection of the Counts of Schönborn, Castle of Pommerfelden, catalogues of 1719 and 1857 (as "a masterpiece by Jan de Heem"); Pommerfelden Sale, Paris, May 17-24, 1867, no. 38; John Ringling.
- Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 289.
- Exhibitions: San Francisco, *Golden Gate Exposition*, 1940;
New Orleans, **The Delgado Museum**,
Fêtes de la Palette, 1962;
Norfolk, **The Norfolk Museum**,
Masterpieces from Southern Museums, Nov., 1969.

This extraordinary work, executed in Antwerp in the 1640's, represents Dutch and Flemish still life painting at its most luxuriant. The canvas overflows with the exotic and the delectable: two exotic birds in the foreground, ten insects, including butterflies, beetles, and grasshoppers, nuts, seashells, shrimp, oysters, and a lobster, three different kinds of glasses of wine and four other containers of wine, lemons, oranges, grapes, peaches, plums, canteloupe and five other kinds of fruit, and salt and pepper, in itself precious in the seventeenth century. There are no meats or vegetables, nothing to suggest a routine, everyday meal; Dutch and Flemish still lifes are more concerned with snacks or banquets. A classical setting adds to the magnificence of the scene. The fruit and nuts are all open, ready to be eaten, and the glasses are filled with wine, ready for drinking—the artist has even attempted a sort of "comparative anatomy" of vegetable and shell forms. All of this abundance, mixed in with costly carpets and objects of silver and gilded silver, is presented in a disordered fashion, intimate, familiar, and casual.

The work is carefully organized in terms of color; the closer the hue is to the center, the higher its value. Green in particular becomes more intense according to its placement, and red is used as a unifying element throughout the composition. De Heem repeats the detail of the red lobster on the blue box in several of his paintings, and the gleaming silver ewer at the center of the composition is particularly effective. In a kind of visual pun, the parrot seems to grasp the ewer's handle (instead of his perch), and the lobster reaches out for its lid and spout.

De Heem, his family and his studio were extremely popular and prolific, and it is not altogether surprising to discover two precise replicas of the Ringling painting. Indeed, the slight reservations this writer felt when he first examined the details and brushwork of the Ringling work were no doubt due to the fact that this was one of several versions produced in the studio; the reason for the popularity of such a composition is clear. One of the replicas was last known in a private collection, Paris (1935), and the other

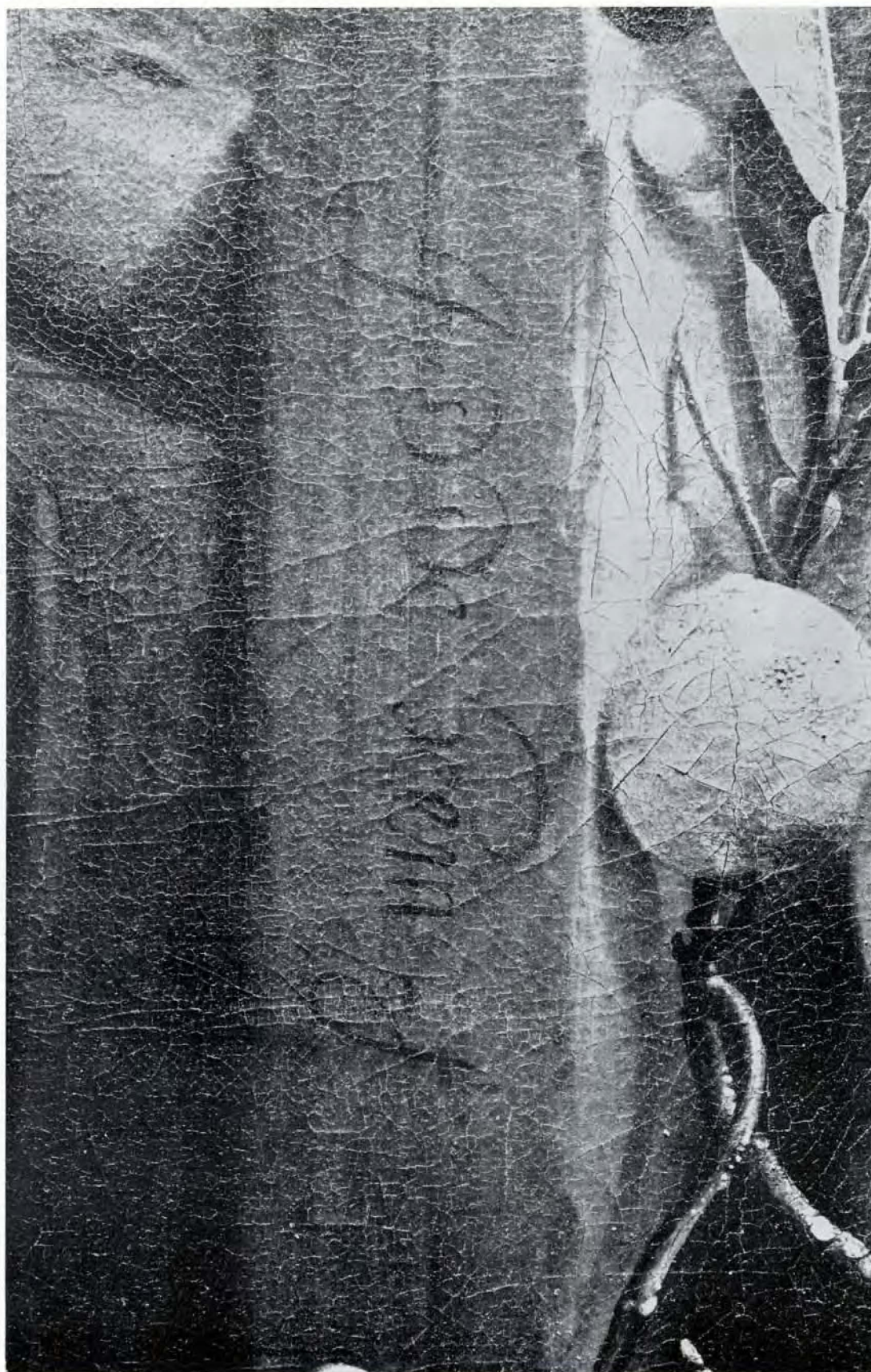
was in a sale in Lucerne, Fischer, 25/29-6-1957, no. 2590 (plate 1); all three works are on canvas and within three centimeters of each other in their dimensions. Only the smallest variations among the three are visible, for example, in the architectural detail of the base of the column, which is slightly different in each work. A very close work, but not as precisely similar as these replicas, is now on loan to the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, from the Dienst voor Rijksverspreide Kunstvoorwerpen (canvas, 139 x 115 cm.) The Utrecht painting has been attributed to Jan Davidsz. de Heem and also to David de Heem, whose style and quality are close to Jan's. It is possible that one or more of the three replicas we have been studying was executed in part by David or Cornelis de Heem.

Interestingly, many of the elements that we see in this painting of the 1640's reappeared in the 1660's, for example, in a still-life in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, dated 1661 or 1663, in a sale, Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 12-3-1951, no. 46.

It is possible that there are iconographical overtones to the Ringling composition; De Heem did a number of *vanitas* and *memento mori* paintings, skulls with watches, fruit, moneybags, flowers, and so forth, and a painting dated 1651, in the art market (Julie Kraus), Paris, 1976, shows yet another delicious still life, but with a large glass half-filled with wine and inscribed "Niet so veel," Not so much. It is possible that the Ringling painting has overtones of waste and decay (the parrot eating the expensive, imported fruit, all the food open and unpeeled) or at least an admonition to be moderate. Nevertheless, the first and most forceful message here is surely the enjoyment of this Rubensian lushness of the world's goods.

The condition of the painting is generally good; the signature has been partly strengthened, and there have been losses in the upper part of the work, for example, the sky, the edge of the column, the tail of the upper parrot, the thin flute glass, and the curtain in the upper right.

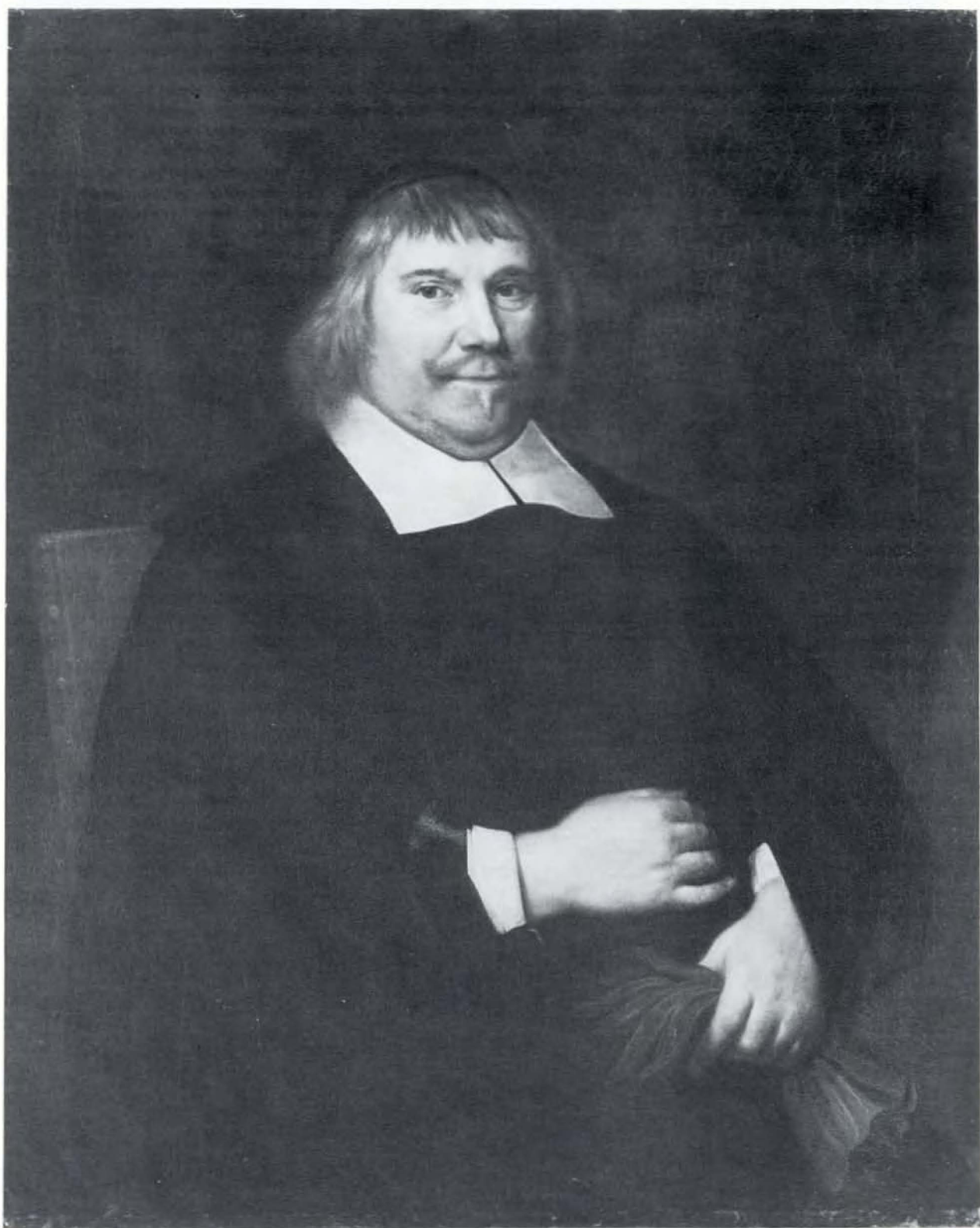
F.W.R.



84a. Detail of signature



84b. Jan Davidsz. de Heem,
Still Life with Grapes and Wine Glass
Julie Kraus, Paris

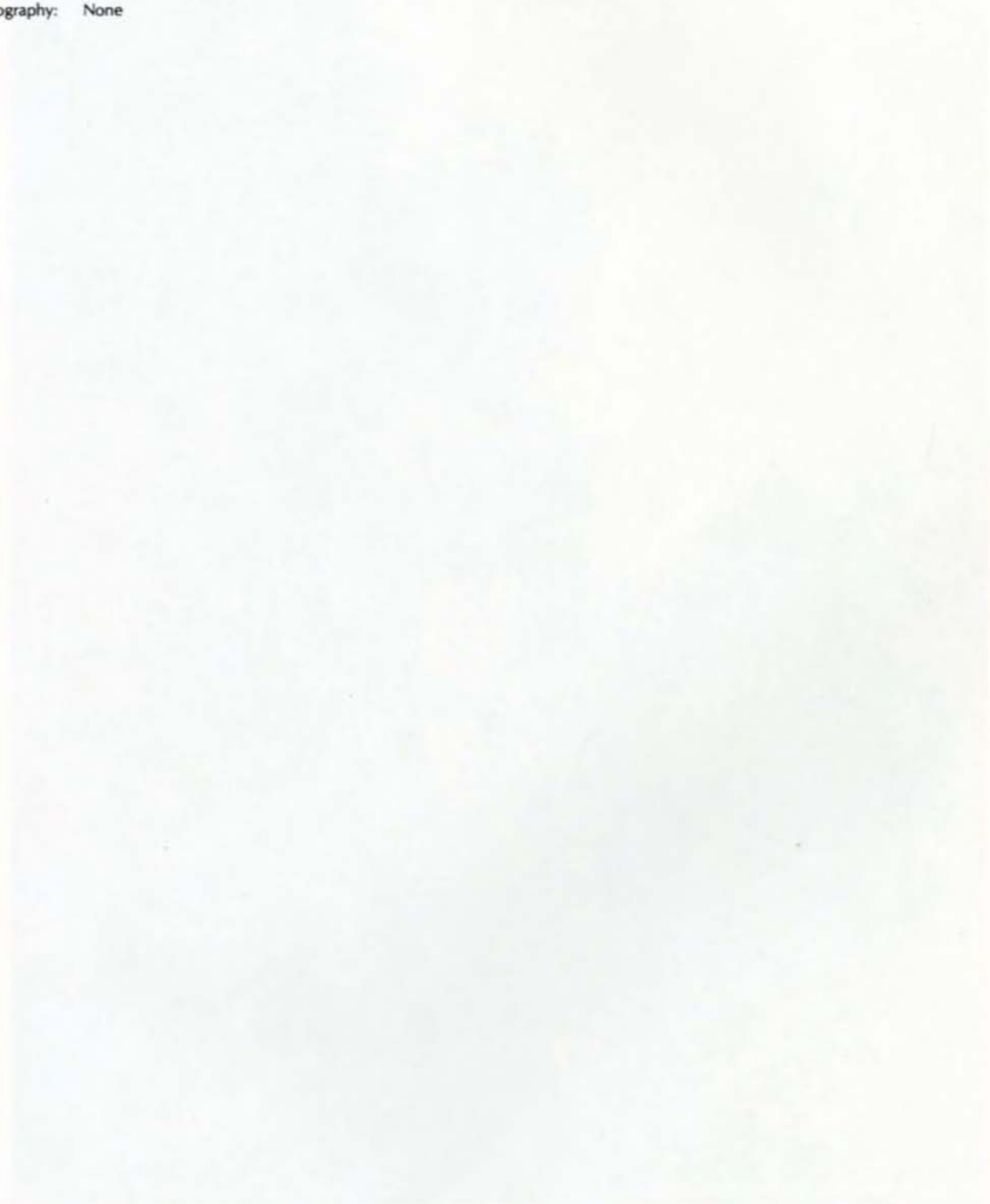


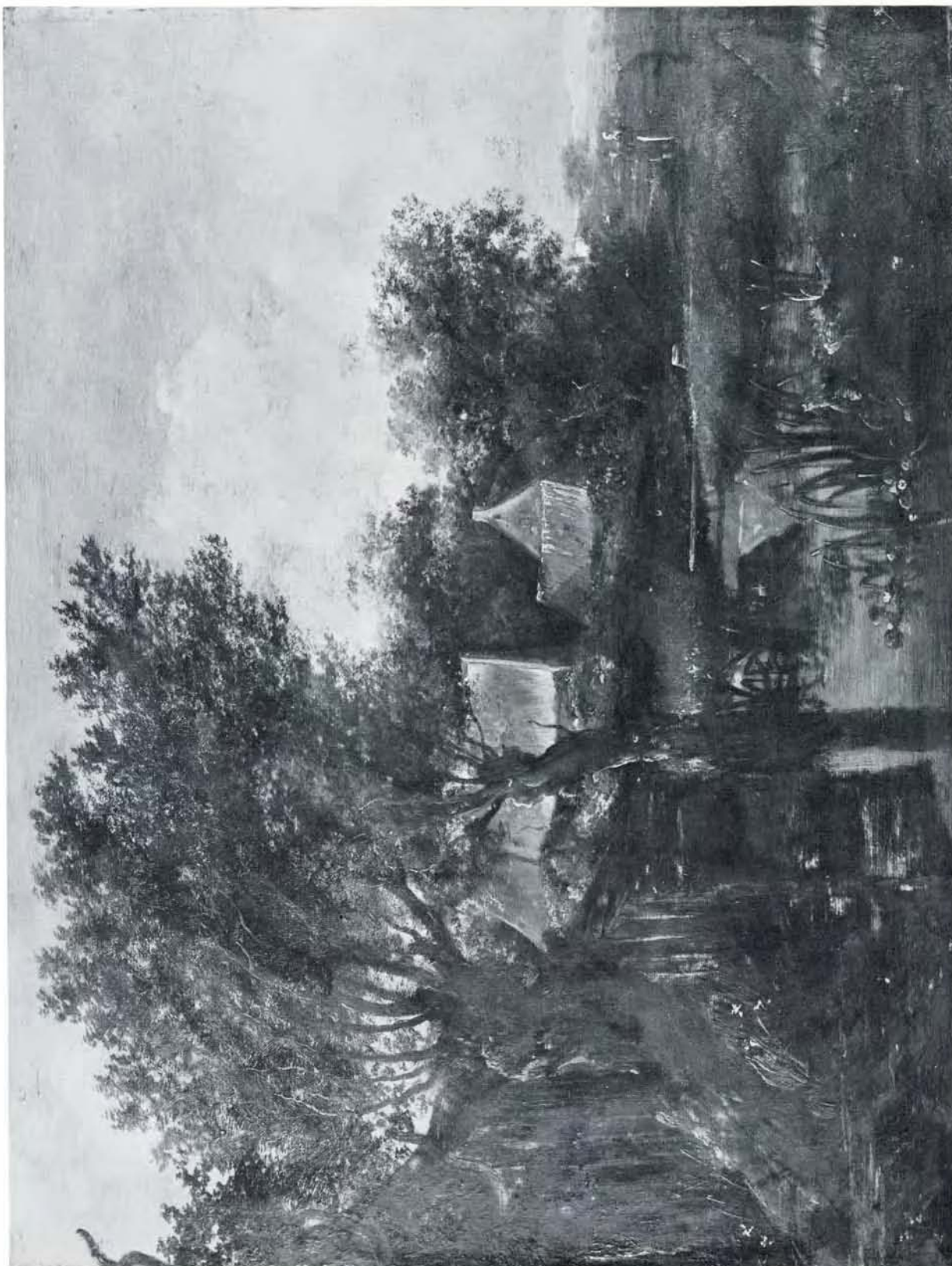
Follower of **Bartholomeus van der Helst**
Haarlem, 1613 - Amsterdam, 1670

85. *Portrait of a Man* (MF 78.3)

Oil on canvas;
40¼ x 32½ (101.6 x 82.5 cm.)
Gift of Mr. Darwin R. Martin, 1978

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: Mr. Darwin R. Martin
Bibliography: None





Imitator of **Meindert Hobbema**

Amsterdam, 1638 - Amsterdam, 1709

86. *Landscape with Cottages* (SN 278)

Oil on panel;
18½ x 25 (47 x 63.5 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida** no. 278 as Meindert Hobbema.

Exhibitions: None





Imitator of **Gerard van Honthorst**

Utrecht, 1590 - Utrecht, 1656

87. *Tavern Scene* (SN 256)

Oil on canvas;
56 x 76 (142.2 x 193 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: John Ringling
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 256
Exhibitions: None

This is one of several old copies of Honthorst's important Caravaggesque composition, now in the Uffizi, Florence (Judson 194).

F.W.R.



Arnold Houbraken

Dordrecht, 1660 - Amsterdam, 1719

88. *Dido Conducting Aeneas Into Carthage* (SN 273)

Oil on panel;

23 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 32 (59.4 x 81.3 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed by the artist, lower left: "A. Houbraken"

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **W.E. Suida,**

"Three Newly Identified Paintings in the Ringling Museum,"

Art in America,

vol. 32, Jan., 1944, pp. 5ff., pl. 5.

Exhibitions: Denver, **The Denver Art Museum,**

Art Tells the Story, March-April, 1953.

88a. Attributed to Gerard Hoet

Dido Conducting Aeneas Into Carthage

Sotheby's sale

London, Dec. 4, 1978



Houbraken, whose volumes on seventeenth century Dutch artists constitute a major source for later historians, often turned to the theme of women as victims or victors, with such subjects as the *Wrath of Ahasuerus*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Body of Lucretia Ridden Through Rome*, *Susannah and the Elders*, and *Dido and Aeneas*. His paintings are usually in the context of the Old Testament or classical history or mythology; there are at least three works attributed to him illustrating the story of Dido and Aeneas: a figure of Dido, with an old woman, on her funeral pyre, with Aeneas' ship in the far left, art market, Utrecht (1941); Dido

and Aeneas with putti, from a series in the Paleis Voorhout; and again, Dido and Aeneas with putti, in the collection of J.G. Schlingemann, The Hague (1955), which is also close in style to Frans van Mieris II and Jan van Neck. A very similar composition appeared in a painting, sale, Sotheby's, London, 4-12-1978, no. 93 (as Gerard Hoet, *Alexander Entering a Town in Triumph*).

The painting is in poor condition, the figures largely lost or restored, the architecture thin, and the sky restored.
F.W.R.



Josef Israels

Groningen, 1824 - The Hague, 1911

89. *Maria van Utrecht*

*Receiving the Last Letter from Her Husband,
Johan van Oldenbarneveldt,
Announcing His Sentence of Death* (SN 453)

Oil on canvas;
60 x 80 (152.4 x 203.2 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist, lower right
"Josef Israels/1852"

Provenance: F. Roos, Amsterdam;
Sale, Amsterdam, Feb. 16, 1904, no. 48;
private collection, Germany;
private collection or dealer, London;
with H. Koekkoek, 1906;
with The Carroll Gallery, London and Toronto, 1925;
sale, Simon and others, American Art Association, New York,
April 4, 1929, no. 93;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **M. Eisler**
Josef Israels,
1924, pl. IV;
Suida no. 453.

Exhibitions: None

Although Josef Israels is best known for his intense and intimate scenes of poverty among peasants, Jews, and others in the Netherlands in the late nineteenth century, he also executed a number of large history paintings illustrating episodes from the early history of the Dutch Republic. The two most important of these works are the confrontation between Margaret of Parma and William the Silent, at the beginning of the eighty-year rebellion against the Spanish, dated 1855, now in the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, and the present painting, signed and dated 1852. In 1619, the great Dutch leader Johan van Oldenbarneveldt, after decades of service to Prince Maurits and the Orange family, was imprisoned and executed, one of the most dramatic episodes in the struggle between the regent class in the cities and the Orange family at the head of the army, between the more liberal Remonstrants and the Calvinistic Counter-Remonstrants. On Maria's left stands her son Reinier van Stoutenberg, an officer in the Dutch army; to her right sits Willem van Groeneveldt, who reads Johan's letter with weeping eyes, while Maria's daughter and an old servant mourn in the background. The letter was written on May 12, 1619, the day before his death, giving his greetings to his family and outlining his service to all the cities and provinces of the Netherlands for so many years. The story of Oldenbarneveldt was popular among Dutch painters of the nineteenth century, for example, in W.H. Schmidt, *Johan being told of his death sentence*, Teylers Museum, Haarlem, S. Opzoomer, *The last morning prayer of Johan*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and E. Davidson, *Maria reading the Historie der*

Martelaren to Johan, 1855, sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 23-4-1979, no. 213.

There certainly were seventeenth century allegories on the execution of Oldenbarneveldt, for example, by Cornelis Saftleven, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and there were more or less descriptive, documentary paintings and prints of related contemporary events, such as the Synod of Dort, the disbanding of the mercenary troops on the Neude in Utrecht, and the Arminiaanse Schans in Leiden. However, the personalized, "novelistic" depictions of actual historical events that we see in the painting by Israels were not characteristic of seventeenth century taste. However, Israels' interest in early Dutch political history cannot be divorced from his interest in the life of the peasant and the roots of this pictorial theme in the art of seventeenth century Netherlands. Indeed, even when Israels turns to religious painting, he combines his interest in Dutch history and culture with his awareness of common, everyday life, for example, in his images of Thomas a Kempis, whose philosophy is closely related to the Dutch Brethren of the Common Life. In fact, the Ringling painting is itself a kind of "historical genre."

A drawing for the painting exists (present whereabouts unknown), there was an etched copy by D.J. Sluyter (published by A.C. Kruseman), and there is a painted replica or copy, 56 x 72 cm., formerly art market (Galerie des Arts), The Hague, 1972 (sale, Hilversum, 30-8-1949).
F.W.R.



Josef Israels

Groningen, 1824 - The Hague, 1911

90. *The Fisherman's Wife* (SN 454)

Oil on canvas;

17 x 14½ (43.2 x 36.8 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed by the artist, lower left:
"Jos Israels"

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 454

Exhibitions: None

This small genre scene is more typical of the mature work of Israels than the other painting by the artist in the Ringling Museum, showing Maria van Utrecht with her family in 1619. A poor person sitting at an open door, whether Dutch, Jewish, or Italian, is a fairly common theme in Israels, as is the motif of the peasant mother and child.

F.W.R.



Bernhardt Keil

Helsingör, 1624 - Rome, 1687

91. *A Group of Four Peasants* (SN 729)

Oil on canvas;
47 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 59 $\frac{1}{8}$ (119.8 x 150.1 cm.)
Museum purchase, 1961

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Christie's Sale, London, Nov. 24, 1961, no. 134
as Antonio Amorosi.

Bibliography: **Herman Voss**,
"Antonio Amorosi, der 'Falsche Spanier,'" *Der Cicerone*,
IV, no. 12, 1912, pp. 461ff.;
Matteo Marangoni,
Arte Barocca,
Florence, 1953, p. 249, note 57, pl. 84;
Eugenio Battisti,
"Alcune Vite inedite di L. Pascoli," *Commentari*,
IV, no. 1, June-Nov., 1953, pp. 30ff.,
Federico Zeri,
"Eberhard Keil: una tela e una tavola," *Paragone*,
vol. 45, Sept., 1953, pp. 45ff;
Eugenio Battisti,
"Antonio Amorosi e non Monsu Bernardo," *Commentari*,
vol. V, no. 1, Jan.-March, 1954, pp. 79-80;
Federico Zeri,
La Galleria Pallavicini in Roma,
Florence, 1959, pp. 147-148, nos. 250-251;
A.E. Perez Sanchez,
"Algunas Obras de 'Monsu Bernardo,'" *Archivo Espanol de Arte*,
vol. XXXIV, no. 134, 1961, pp. 141ff.;
Peter Tomory,
The Italian Paintings Before 1800,
The Ringling Museum of Art, 1976, cat. no. 134.

Exhibitions: None

Bernhardt Keil, known in Italy as Monsú Bernardo, was a Dane who studied with Rembrandt in Amsterdam and settled in Rome; he supplied Filippo Baldinucci with much of the information on Rembrandt he used in his volume of artists' biographies. The Ringling painting is a fine example of the quiet lyricism of Keil's views of peasants, an almost gentle affection mixed with amusement; the lively, animated brushstrokes, gestures, and facial expressions contrast with these massive figures that fill the canvas and crowd close to the picture plane. This juxtaposition of old and young peasants of both sexes is extremely typical of Keil; three of his works that are particularly close to the Ringling painting are another *Group of Four Peasants* in the Seattle Art Museum and the pendants in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *The Vegetable Seller* and *The Wood Seller*, with the same mixture of ages and a youth as the focus of the crowded compositions.

There is an understated contrast in the present work between the girl on the left, who brings the mask and hat of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, and the old woman, who pours out wine for the older musician on the right. The youth puts up a hand, perhaps to show a slight reluctance to join in the fun, while his companion looks out at us, a sure sign in baroque painting of the artist's approval and our invited complicity. As a counterpoint to this moral overtone of amusement *versus* helpfulness, Keil has added two erotic visual puns in the barrel the youth leans on and the musical instrument between his legs. F.W.R.



91a. Bernhardt Keil
Group of Four Peasants
Seattle Art Museum
Seattle, Washington



Jan van Kessel

Amsterdam, 1641 - Amsterdam, 1680

92. *Landscape with Stag Hunt* (SN 279)

Oil on canvas;
63 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 82 $\frac{1}{4}$ (161 x 208.9 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist, lower left
(under horse's hoofs): "J. Kessel 1663"

Provenance: Mrs. McTwombly, New York

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 279

with the suggestion that the figures are by Jan Lingelbach.

Exhibitions: None

This is an unusually important work in the oeuvre of Jan van Kessel, whose paintings, all landscapes, on the whole show flat Dutch views, such as the bleaching fields outside Haarlem, or forest interiors, or rushing streams. The Ringling painting is important on several counts: it is signed and dated 1663, it is strikingly large, and its subject combines so many of the artist's favorite elements—the magnificent heroic birch tree, blasted by lightning or time, the edge of a forest, a rushing stream, and a long view into the distance. It is also unusual for the figures (by another, contemporary hand?) to be such a focus of interest in his work. The birch tree reminds us that Van Kessel's major influence was Jacob van Ruisdael; Gerard van Battem painted landscapes similar to Van Kessel's.

The condition of the work is not good in the heavily restored sky and the abraded trees and landscape.
F.W.R.



Gerard van Kuijl

Gorinchem, 1603 - Gorinchem, 1673

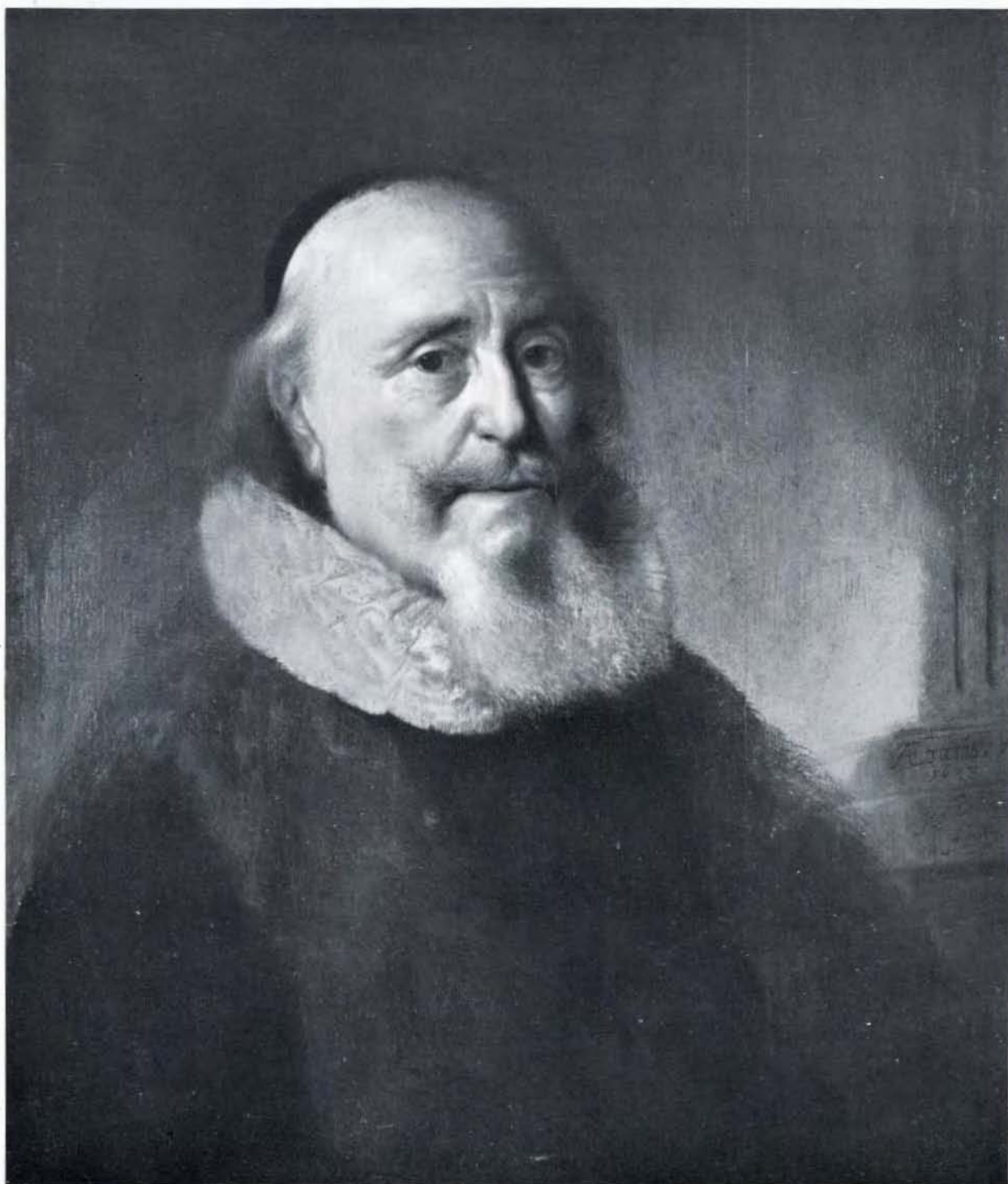
93. *Narcissus* (SN 885)

- Oil on canvas;
56 x 75 (142.5 x 190.5 cm.)
Museum purchase, 1969
- Inscriptions: None
- Provenance: John McClintock of Drumcar, Ireland, June, 1800;
Rt. Hon. Lord Rathdonnell, Lisnavagh, Rathvilly, Co. Carlow,
Ireland, sale, Christie's, London, March 29, 1968, £2520;
purchased from Thos. Agnew and Sons, London, 1969.
- Bibliography: "Present Exhibitions, Agnew's,"
The Burlington Magazine,
May, 1969, p. 312, pl. no. 63;
"La Chronique des Arts,"
Supplement à la Gazette des Beaux-Arts,
no. 1213, Feb., 1970, p. 63, pl. 291;
Joseph T. Butler,
"The American way with Art,"
The Connoisseur,
vol. 173, no. 697, March, 1970, p. 224, pl. 9;
"Accessions of American and Canadian Museums, Oct.-Dec. 1969,"
The Art Quarterly,
vol. XXXIII, no. 2, Summer, 1970, p. 189, pl. 2.
- Exhibitions: **Agnew's**, London, May, 1969.

This large and impressive work, by one of the many Dutch followers of Caravaggio, may be the only painting by Van Kuijl in the United States. Eric Jan Sluyter (*Oud-Holland*, 91, 1977, pp. 166-194) has clarified the oeuvre of this elusive master; he has also kindly confirmed the attribution of the Ringling canvas to the artist (orally). As Sluyter makes clear, Van Kuijl lived in Rome from 1629 to 1631 with Giovanni Delcampo in the via Margutta, a street between the Piazza del Popolo and the Piazza di Spagna still lined with artists' studios; all of the artist's known works were painted after his return to the Netherlands. This *Narcissus* is particularly close to his *Philoctetes on Lemnos*, private collection, Rome (Sluyter, fig. 6, no. 4A), which is dated 1647. Although it is a vertical work, the *Philoctetes* also shows a young man next

to a pool, among rocks, with a patch of sky, and a bow and quiver on the ground. Among other related works, his *Joseph Telling His Dreams*, Arcade Gallery, London (Sluyter, fig. 5, A3), can also be dated in the middle forties; in conversation, Sluyter has pointed out further similarities with Van Kuijl's *St. Sebastian*, in the Bayerisches Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

The prototype for this work in the school of Caravaggio is a magnificent *Narcissus* now in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica (Galleria Corsini), in Rome. The subject of *Narcissus* is rare in Dutch art, although it appears on occasion in Flemish painting, for example, in Rubens' oil sketch in the Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
F.W.R.



Paulus Lesire

Dordrecht, 1611 - Dordrecht, 1656

94. *Portrait of a Man* (SN 959)

Oil on panel;
19 1/8 x 16 (48.6 x 40.6 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist
at the base of the pilaster:
"Aetatis. 78/1636/P. Lesire/Fecit"

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 259

Exhibitions: Raleigh, **North Carolina Museum of Art**,
Rembrandt and His Pupils, Nov.-Dec., 1956, cat. no. 64;
Montreal, **Montreal Museum of Fine Arts**/Toronto, **Art
Gallery of Ontario**,
Rembrandt and His Pupils, Jan.-April, 1969, cat. no. 86.

This small panel is important in helping to define the work of this interesting Dordrecht portrait painter. Dordrecht was a center for artists who had come under the influence of Rembrandt in some way or other, including Nicolaes Maes, Samuel van Hoogstraten, Pieter Verelst, and Lesire. The Ringling painting, dated 1638, is clearly indebted to Rembrandt's portraits of ministers from the middle 1630's including *Eleazar Swalmius*, 1637, Antwerp, Museum; *Johannes Elison*, 1634, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; *Johannes Uytenbogaert*, 1633, formerly Mentmore, Earl of Roseberry; as well as his etching of Uytenbogaert, 1635, and Jan Sylvius, 1633 or 1634. From his clothes, we can deduce that the man in the Ringling painting was a minister also.

There is a pendant to this work, in the Jurgens collection, Nijmegen, showing the man's wife (or widow); the pendant is also on panel, almost the same size (48 x 36 cm.), and inscribed in a similar fashion on the base of the engaged column and arch to the side (*Aetatis 61/1638 (or 1651)/P. Lesire/fecit*). The major changes are the addition of an oval frame in the portrait of the woman and the fact that the column there is not fluted. The portrait of the woman, perhaps in widow's weeds, may have been done after the husband's death; this would explain the apparent discrepancy in dates. However, when the Nijmegen work was published in 1962 (Walther Bernt, *Die Niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, IV, München, 1962, pl. 168), the date was read as 1638, the same date as the Ringling work; the date on the panel in the later photograph in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie is 1651, but even in the photograph, disturbance in this area can be seen. If the date were indeed 1651, then the widow would have been forty-eight years old in 1638 and thirty years younger than her late husband—certainly an unusual but not unheard-of circumstance.

The Ringling painting has been abraded throughout; the damage is worst in the ruff, the chest and shoulders, and the background, particularly on the right.

F.W.R.

94a. **Paulus Lesire**
Portrait of a Woman
Formerly Jurgens Collection
Nijmegen





Johannes Lingelbach

Frankfort, 1622 - Amsterdam, 1674

95. *A Harbor Scene in Italy* (SN 272)

Oil on canvas;
33½ x 45 (85.1 x 114.3 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist, lower right:
"J. Lingelbach/1667"

Provenance: Christie's sale, London, July 8, 1929, no. 132;
purchased by John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 272

Exhibitions: None

Johannes Lingelbach was a member of what may be called the generation of 1620, artists who were not so much innovators as confirmers of previous innovations, the second-rank but not second-rate figures who make the major artists possible. This group, born in the years around 1620, fall between Rembrandt, born in 1606, and Vermeer, born in 1632. Lingelbach was one of the many Dutchmen who fell in love with Italy and were particularly fascinated by the life of the peasant. In the present work, we see a resting pilgrim in the center, his shirt decorated with shells, several orientals on the left, and two prisoners with ankle irons at the fountain on the right. A statue of Mercury, patron of commerce, dominates the scene. The groups are placed on the quay in a carefully balanced arrangement, with clear zones of light and shadow leading us into the background; the two statues and cloudy cliff on the left contrast beautifully with the clear and deep empty space. Lingelbach died in 1674, and by 1669 the elongation and elegance of the figures typical of this late work had already begun; this elongation is suggested in this canvas from 1667 in the seated oriental on the left.

This is probably not an actual harbor scene but a pastiche of several views; Lingelbach would vary at will the

central focus of his paintings, using in turn statues of Neptune or Castor and Pollux, obelisks, variations on Bernini's *Four Rivers* or Pietro Tacca's slaves, and the like. In fact, the artist rearranges the basic elements of this composition in at least two other works, a harbor scene of 1664, art market (Douwes), Amsterdam, and a slightly larger, undated canvas (87 x 139 cm.) in the Gemäldegalerie, Vienna. Although the Vienna painting omits a central statue and includes a triumphal arch on the left, it takes the other elements of the somewhat earlier Ringling painting and exaggerates them, filling the more horizontal format of the work: the ship on the left looms larger and the ship in full sail in the background is made more dominant, the buildings are enlarged, and the figures are made smaller, to exaggerate this contrast. Yet another version, in the Givaudan Collection, Geneva, signed and dated 1674, shifts the cliff, buildings, and ship tied to the quay, over to the right side of the composition.

The condition of the Ringling painting is generally excellent; there have been losses around the statue and its base, and along the left edge of the canvas and in the upper right corner.

F.W.R.



Jan Looten

Amsterdam, 1616 - England, ca. 1681

96. *Hunters in a Forest Landscape* (SN 276)

Oil on canvas;

61½ x 75¼ (156.2 x 191.1 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Fowberry Tower, Belford, 1873 (?);

According to Böhler,

purchased by John Ringling in New York for \$150.

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

Jan Looten is one of the more interesting artists in the circle of Jacob van Ruisdael, and this painting is one of his largest and finest works. The format is typical for Looten: massive trees and forest in the right foreground, with a few figures, and a stream or valley leading into the background on the left. Although similar works are dated 1649 and 1663, the closest dated painting is from 1655 (Musée, Nancy). On occasion, the figures in his landscapes were executed by another artist, as in the landscape with figures by Johannes Lingelbach, dated 1656, Statens Museum, Copenhagen. Jan Lagoor is another member of the Ruisdael circle whose large forest landscapes are just beginning to be appreciated (George S. Keyes, "Jan Lagoor," *Tableau*, 1, 3, 1979, pp. 36-44). In the presence of these dark and powerful forest scenes, one feels the attraction seventeenth century Dutch art had for the artists of the Barbizon School, painting at Fontainebleau.

F.W.R.



Isaak Luttichuys

London, 1616 - Amsterdam, 1673

97. *Portrait of a Man with a Spear* (SN 262)

Oil on canvas;

37¼ x 31 (94.6 x 78.7 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist, lower right:

"I Luttichuys Fecit/Anno 1663"

Provenance: W.H. Bromhead sale, London, June, 1926;

American Art Association sale, New York, Jan. 5-6, 1927,
no. 179;

American Art Association sale, New York, Jan. 8, 1930,
no. 91;

purchased by John Ringling.

Bibliography: **W.R. Valentiner**,

"Isaac Luttichuys, A Little Known Dutch Portrait Painter,"
The Art Quarterly,

I, no. 3, 1938, p. 178, no. 38,

("Executed in the artist's last period");

Suida, no. 262.

Exhibitions: None

This is a fine and typical example of the Amsterdam portraitist Isaac Luttichuys who seems to have been influenced by Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen, the Utrecht painter who, like Luttichuys, also worked in England. Both artists worked for the Van Loon family in Amsterdam (see the portraits in the Stichting Van Loon, Amsterdam). This work is slightly unusual for Luttichuys in that the sitter is dressed as a hunter, with a spear and a mixture of contemporary and "classical" clothing; no doubt this was intended as an allegorized portrait (Adonis?), with a pendant showing the man's wife. Many parts of the paint surface are thin, particularly over the right arm and in the sky, although the signature and date are intact.

Willem L. van de Watering has recently discovered the pendant to the Ringling portrait in a Dutch private collection. The measurements of the pendants are very close and the landscape continues from one to the other. Van de Watering dates the female portrait shortly before 1660.
F.W.R.



Nicholaes Maes

Dordrecht, 1634 - Amsterdam, 1693

98. *Portrait of Engelberta van Brien* (SN 266)

Oil on canvas;

40 x 33 (101.6 x 83.8 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: According to Böhrer, purchased by John Ringling in London.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 266 as Maes, *Portrait of a Lady*.

Exhibitions: None

This is the second example in the Ringling Museum of the elegant portrait style of Nicolaes Maes, a Rembrandt pupil who began, in the 1660's, with intense, small genre scenes of old women praying or spinning and maidservants eavesdropping or falling asleep over unwashed dishes. By the seventies, however, Maes had abandoned these subjects to become a prolific portraitist of the Dutch regent class in a format practised by many artists in Amsterdam and The Hague, based on Flemish prototypes.

By comparison with other works by Maes, and from the date of the hair style, it is clear that this work was executed in the middle seventies. The sitter here may be Engelberta van Brien (1653-1716), painted again by Maes in 1674 (reproduced, in F. G. L. O. Kretschmar, "De portretverzameling van een Utrechtse familie," *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconographisch Bureau*, 32, 1978, cat. 82, fig. 79). She was married to Paulus Voet van Winssen (1651-1720), burgermaster of Utrecht and holder of many other official positions; Maes portrayed him in 1675.

F.W.R.



Nicholaes Maes

Dordrecht, 1634 - Amsterdam, 1693

99. *Portrait of Anna Hofstreek* (SN 265)

Oil on canvas;
45 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 36 $\frac{1}{8}$ (114.6 x 91.8 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist on the edge of the fountain,
lower right: "Maes 1674"

Provenance: Dowdswell and Dowdswell, London;
Mrs. Albert Young;
American Art Association sale, New York, April 7, 1927,
no. 93;
purchased by John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 265

Exhibitions: None

This fine portrait of 1674 shows the later Maes at his most relaxed and elegant, far from the kitchen scenes and intimate views of poor and aged women characteristic of his work in the 1650's. Maes did more than twenty portraits of women (and occasionally a man) standing next to a fountain, usually set against a landscape with meadows and trees. William Robinson (letter, April, 1979) has pointed out that the woman who dips her hand in a fountain enacts an emblematic image of innocence, purity, and chastity; the origin of this image is Pilate washing his hands and appears in various emblem books by Ripa, Hulsius, and Valeriano. Although most paintings show the figure dipping only one hand in the fountain, Robinson notes that in a family group by Anthonie Palamedesz., a girl washes both her hands in a fountain. (An unusual variation of this theme is the boudoir scene by Eglon van der Neer, Mauritshius, The Hague, a synthesis of two paintings by Gabriel Metsu, one of which, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, shows a man and women in a brothel.)

F.W.R.



99a. Detail of signature



Anton Mauve

Zaandam, 1838 - Arnhem, 1888

100. *The Marsh* (SN 455)

Oil on canvas;
11½ x 90 (29.2 x 50.9 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed by the artist, lower right: "A. Mauve"

Provenance: American Art Association sale, Jan. 8, 1930;

John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 455

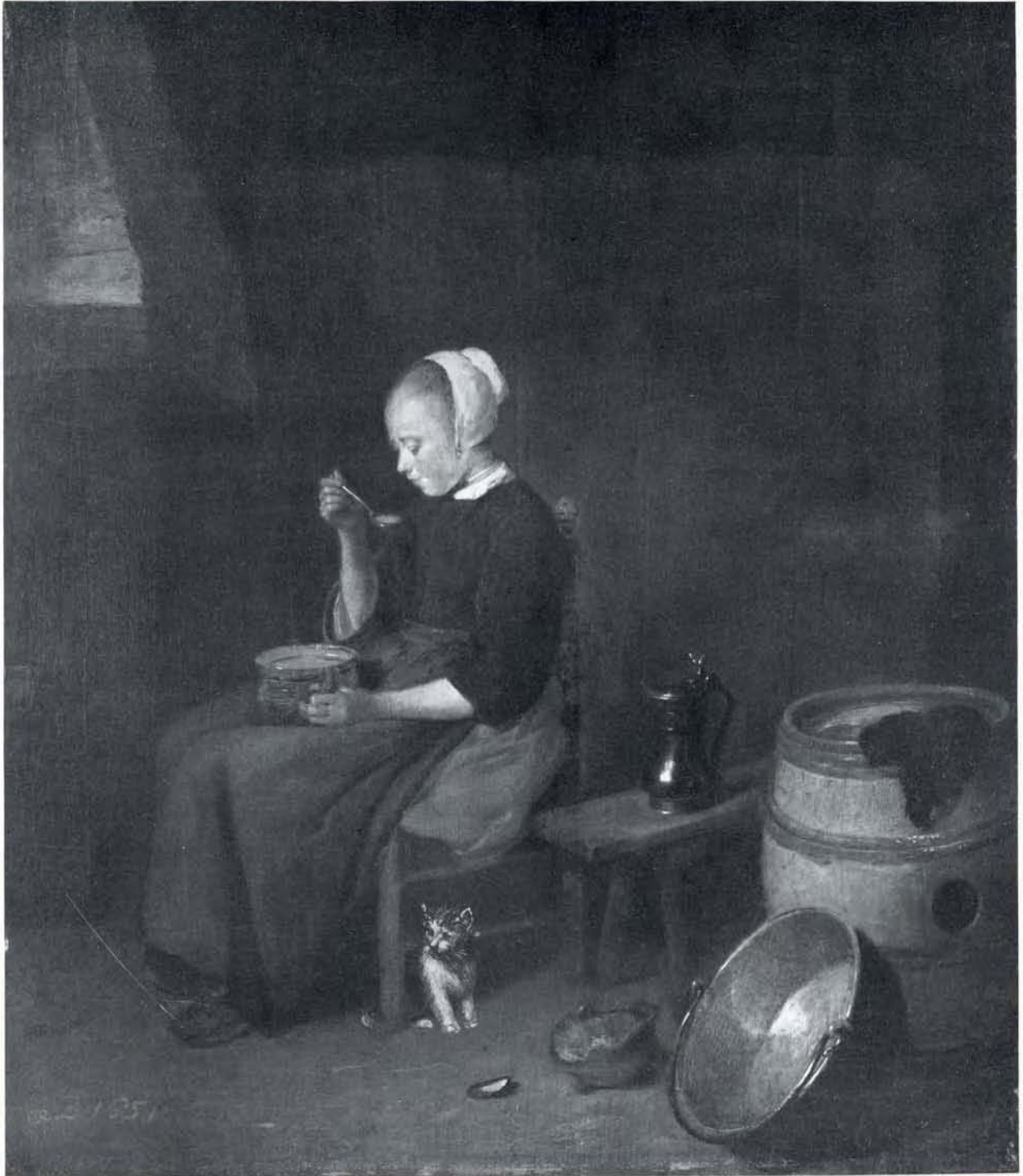
Exhibitions: None

Anton Mauve was one of the most famous members of the "Hague School" of artists active during the second half of the nineteenth century. Their somber paintings of seascapes and landscapes with the activities of fishermen, herders and peasants adorned Victorian living rooms around the world and sparked a revival of interest in Dutch art.

The landscape in the Ringling collection is unusual in its direct application of paint and lack of figures and animals (except for a lone person on the opposite side of the pond). The lack of detail might indicate that it was made as a study for a more complex and detailed work.

W.H.W.





Attributed to **Gabriel Metsu**
Leiden, 1629 - Amsterdam, 1667

101. *A Girl Eating Soup* (SN 787)

Oil on panel;

13½ x 10 (34.3 x 25.4 cm.)

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Polak, 1965 as Quirin Brekelenkam

Inscriptions: Annotated, lower left: "QB 1651"

Provenance: Sale, Menke, Brussels, June 12, 1904, no. 9, as Brekelenkam;
sale, Castiglione, Amsterdam (F. Muller), July 13, 1926;
Art market, Amsterdam (Douwes), 1926;
Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Polak.

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

This small, exquisitely painted genre scene is an excellent example of the Leiden school of artists, often called *fijnschilders* (fine painters), who worked in the tradition of Gerard Dou, the earliest important pupil of Rembrandt. Although the painting has been inscribed with the initials of Quirin Brekelenkam and the date 1651, it lacks the essential characteristics of Brekelenkam's style, a tight, eccentric, quirky energy and an almost calligraphic touch. The work has also been attributed to Pieter van den Bosch and Esaïas Boursse (files of the Ringling Museum and of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie). However, the subject and setting, the quiet introspection of the sitters, the accents on metal and wood, and the color scheme, for example, the girl's green blouse, red dress, and blue apron, all suggest the authorship of Gabriel Metsu in the middle 1650's. Both Brekelenkam and Metsu are fascinated by the subject of a figure, young or old, eating or smoking next to a fireplace, but the handling of the girl's face and cap, the best preserved part of the work, is typical of such signed paintings by Metsu of this period as his *Woman with Glass and Tankard*, in the Louvre (Franklin W. Robinson, *Gabriel Metsu 1629-1667*, New York, 1975, plate 20), and his *Woman with Sewing in a Niche*, Pushkin Museum, Moscow (plate 39). The

variety of attributions that have been made of this painting in itself shows the complexity of this important period in Dutch art, the prelude to the triumph of high genre painting in Jan Vermeer and the Delft school in the sixties. Although examples of direct influence are difficult to determine, it is a relatively small step from these quiet scenes of women pouring out milk or water or otherwise involved in their domestic activities by Dou and his followers, to Vermeer's and De Hooch's goldweighers, milkmaids, and woman looking in the mirror or reading letters.

The iconography of the work is not certain; the tankard for wine, the shell and broken pot on the ground, and a slight air of disorder might have been intended to suggest an undertone of neglect or even immorality, but this seems at odds with the sweetness and youth of the girl quietly drinking her soup (under ultra-violet light, it is clear that the cat is a later addition). It is also possible that the painting once had a pendant, with a figure facing to the right; such a figure might have been a girl drinking, or more obviously messy and neglectful of her duties, or an old woman, or a boy with a dead bird he is offering the Ringling girl, to entice her sexually.

F.W.R.



Klaes Molenaer

Haarlem, 1630 - Haarlem, 1676

102. *A Winter Landscape* (SN 280)

Oil on panel;
17 x 15 (43.2 x 38.1 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Christie's sale, London, May 23-24, 1928;
purchased by John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 280

Exhibitions: None

This excellent panel shows the Haarlem genre painter Klaes Molenaer at his tightest and most energetic. The seventeenth century was a period of unusual cold in the history of European meteorology and paintings of peasants working and playing on frozen canals became a favorite theme for contemporary artists. However, what was simply, early in the century, charming genre scenes in the work of Hendrick Avercamp (note the Ringling painting by Avercamp, no. 59) and Esaias van de Velde became, later in the century, touched with a certain melancholy, sometimes almost grimness, in the paintings of Molenaer and Aert van der Neer. In the eighteenth century, in Hendrick Schweickhardt, for example, there was an almost nostalgic evocation of a happy and superficial world of graceful skaters (note the Ringling painting after Schweickhardt, no. 119).

This is a typical work for Molenaer; the artist loved to depict bricks, gables, and simple houses, especially houses built into city walls, with children playing or fishing on the frozen moat below. The Ringling painting is close to a similar work in the Museum at Hoorn that is dated 1647. The same tower-house is seen from the other side, down the moat (so the tower is on the right), in a panel by Molenaer in a private collection, Zürich (30.5 x 39.5 cm.). The view in the Ringling work is probably of the Haarlem city wall, perhaps near the St. Catherine or Spaerenbrug (note the Ringling painting of the Spaerenbrug by ten Compe, no. 63), looking toward the St. Janspoort (see Abraham Rademaker's etching, published in *Kabinet van Nederlandsche Outheden en Gezichten*, Amsterdam, 1725, plate 64, and, for related city views of Haarlem, M. Eisler, *Die Geschichte eines holländischen Stadtbildes* (Kultur und Kunst), The Hague, 1914, pp. 47, 103). Molenaer also painted cityscapes in Heemstede, Egmond, Amsterdam, and elsewhere.

F.W.R.



Follower of **Anthonis Mor van Dashorst (Antonio Moro)**
Utrecht, ca. 1517 - Antwerp, 1575

103. *Portrait of a Nobleman* (SN 928)

Oil on panel;

15¼ x 13½ (40 x 34.3 cm.)

Bequest of Karl Bickel, 1973

Inscriptions: Inscribed, upper left: "AN DNI/1565;"
upper right: "AETATIS SUA/ 30;"
below coat-of-arms: "ESPOIRE ME COMFORTE."

Provenance: Mr. Karl Bickel

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

The Dutch artist Anthonis Mor van Dashorst, better known by his Spanish name, Antonio Moro, became an internationally famous portraitist, depicting important nobles and clerics in the Netherlands, Italy, Spain and England. While he was influenced by Titian's portraits, Moro's approach was typically northern in his love for detail and formality. His Mannerist style was perfect for the sombre Spanish influence that was felt throughout Europe as the Hapsburgs rose to the height of their political influence in the middle of the sixteenth century.

The Ringling portrait has all the characteristics of a typical Moro portrait with highly detailed lace, buttons and fabric accenting a smoothly painted, slightly elongated face and eyes that make direct contact with the viewer. "Espoir me comforte" is the motto of the English Tilney and Strange-way families, an indication that the portrait may have been painted by one of Moro's English followers (Moro was in England in 1553-1554).

F.G.L.O. Kretschmar of the Stichting Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague, has identified the coat-of-arms as from either the Rosenhan family of Denmark or the Schmidtmayer family of Nuremberg and Switzerland.

W.H.W.



Jan Mostaert

Haarlem, ca. 1475 - Brussels, ca. 1555

104. *Portrait of a Lady with a Standard* (SN 204)

Oil on canvas;
18½ x 13⅞ (47 x 35.2 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Inscribed in the sky to the left and right of the head:
"VITA MORS." or "MATRI MORS."

Provenance: Possibly Pelletier and Baron Korff Collections;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **M.J. Friedländer**,
Die altniederländische Malerei,
Berlin-Leiden, 1924-1937, vol. X, no. 45;
Suida, no. 204.

Exhibitions: None

This attractive portrait offers an example of the distinctive faces painted by the sixteenth century Dutch master Jan Mostaert (ca. 1475-1555/6). Mostaert based his activity in his native Haarlem, where he was active in the local guild and is documented as resident during most of his career. According to the Haarlem artist and art historian van Mander (1604), Mostaert served for eighteen years as court painter to the regent of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria, in Mechelen (Malines). While Mostaert's prolonged absence at the court (except for a period ca. 1517-26) is unlikely in view of the Haarlem documentation, his connections with the court do seem to have shaped the aristocratic character of his portraits.

Typically, Mostaert's portraits present figures at half-length and three-quarter profile. Frequently the hands, sometimes gloved or resting on a cushion, appear at the bottom of the picture frame; together with these signs of comfort, their fingers, adorned with rings, also signal the wealth and status of the sitters. Mostaert's portraits usually feature well-dressed figures in the finest of fashions: fur-trimmed, bejewelled, and decked out in a modish head covering or hat. The *Sarasota* canvas shows all of these features. Its female sitter wears the distinctive dark linen head covering seen in other Mostaert paintings, such as the *Last Judgment* triptych in Bonn, where the female donors wear identical millinery. The *Bonn Last Judgment* can be dated on genealogical grounds, derived from the identity of the donors, to between the years 1510 and 1514 (L.J. van der Klooster, "Drie opmerkingen over Jan Mostaerts z.g. Alkemade triptiek," *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, XVII, 1963, 137-42; also, J. Snyder, "The Early Haarlem School of Painting, Part III: The Problem of Geertgen tot sint Jans and Jan Mostaert," *Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, 458, with general remarks on Mostaert documentation, 447-51). Moreover, that particular millinery dates from the very same period. Taken together, the comparison with the *Bonn Last Judgment* provides a reliable dating, ca. 1515, for the *Sarasota* painting.

Also characteristic of Mostaert's portraits and already present in the *Ringling* canvas is the background cliffside, adorned in this case with an oversized die and a pink flower. The developed formulas of Mostaert images feature the sitter close up, but outdoors, in front of a rocky landscape. Two such examples are the *Woman* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; dated ca. 1520/25) on the basis of costume) and a *Young Man* (Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, ca. 1520). Each of these examples includes a tiny subsidiary (and unexplained) scene of the Conversion of St. Hubert.

The face of the sitter in *Sarasota* is drawn with a refinement and delicacy which are characteristic of Mostaert. A linear elegance is complemented by the cool restraint of the woman's demeanor. Surface handling in the *Ringling* picture is more mottled than the brighter skin tones of most Mostaert portraits, but the worn condition of the canvas indicates that any original surface subtlety has here been lost. In all likelihood, this portrait was originally painted on panel like most Mostaert works and was later transferred to canvas. When one considers the finery of the sitter and the serious cost incurred by any individual who commissioned a portrait, the combination of a portrait commission and a choice of a less expensive canvas support becomes extremely improbable. Hence, the original support was almost certainly a wooden panel.

The all-black garments of the sitter in the *Ringling* painting imply that she is in mourning. Nevertheless, she is adorned with a host of rings and with the same gold chain and fur armlets as the woman in Mostaert's *Amsterdam* portrait with St. Hubert. The flowers which play such a prominent role in the picture's decoration seem to have some kind of heraldic value. In addition to the red and white flowers in the sitter's hand, the red flower is repeated twice beside her—once in its unnatural placement above the background cliff and once in stylized form on the black-and-red banner. The only identification of the sitter which has been advanced thus far sought to match her with Josina, oldest daughter of Jan, Count of Egmond, and wife of Jan II Wasseenaar (d. 1538). The research of J.W. Niemeijer in the Bureau of Genealogy and Heraldry at The Hague was unable, however, to reveal any such heraldic standard for either the Egmond or the Wasseenaar families. The inscription "Matri" and "Mors" above the sitter would tally with the assumption that her costume indicates mourning, but it is unlikely that this inscription was original with the portrait. (It is badly centered, it is incorrect Latin, and it is a unique element among Mostaert's portraits.) Unfortunately, without more information about the sitter, neither the mysterious die (a symbol of fortune?), the inscription, the banner, nor the flower can be properly understood. Indeed, it is a distinct possibility that most of these elements were added at a later date in order to alter the identification of the sitter, for they are all anomalies within the portrait corpus of Mostaert, and all sit uneasily in their locations.

A leading specialist on Mostaert, James Snyder, has written in his entry for this picture from his unpublished monograph on Mostaert that he believes the work to be either "the work of a follower or a heavily repainted original by Mostaert," although he acknowledges that the poor condition of the surface makes any definitive ascription impossible. He does not comment on the costume of the sitter but instead associates the picture with Mostaert's "late style" without any further explanation.

L.S.



Attributed to **Daniel Mytens the Elder**
Delft, 1590 - Delft, 1648

105. *Portrait of a Man* (SN 258)

Oil on canvas;

79 x 47½ (200.7 x 120.6 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Unidentified coat-of-arms, upper right.

Provenance: Kirby-Bernet sale, Jan. 29, 1921, no. 91;

John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 258.

Exhibitions: None

Daniel Mytens was an extremely prolific court painter in England in the 1620's, and he executed many full-length, life-size portraits similar to the Ringling work, for example, his excellent portrait of James, first Duke of Hamilton, in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, and his portrait of Sir John Ashburnham, sale, Christie's, 13-3-1970, no. 102, which is even larger than the Ringling canvas (88½ x 53 inches). However, these two works show a subtler mastery of such details as the hands and the decoration of clothes and the carpet on the table. Presumably Mytens had assistants, and the Ringling work may have been completed with the help of one of them.

Under strong and ultraviolet light, it is clear that aside from some minor losses, there are two major changes in the painting: first, the hair has been altered dramatically. It used to be longer, coming down over his shoulders. Second, the shield is not of the same date as the rest of the painting and has been executed by a much broader, cruder hand; a larger shield, painted out, is visible beneath the present one. The reproduction from the 1921 sale catalogue shows many differences with the present state of the work, for example, in the treatment of the hands, in the pants, which had more folds and wrinkles then, and in the shirt over the pants, which seems to have been transparent. Also, the losses in the background, especially on the right, were more obvious then.

The Ringling painting may once have had a pendant, such as the portrait of an unknown woman, art market (Duveen), New York, which is close in size (77 x 48½ inches) and shows the figure with her left hand on a table. The former identification of the Ringling sitter as Sir William Rugeley is difficult to maintain, given the fact that the shield is a later addition.

F.W.R.



Pieter Nason

The Hague, 1612 - The Hague, ca. 1689

106. *Portrait of President Adriaan Pauw van Bennenbrock* (SN 260)

Oil on panel;
29¼ x 23¼ (74.3 x 60.3 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist in the lower drapery area:
"P Nason/1647"

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: *Suida*, no. 260

Exhibitions: None

This portrait of a scion of one of the most prominent ruling families of the province of Holland in the seventeenth century has been variously attributed, particularly to Gerard van Honthorst (museum files), but there is no reason to doubt the signature and date, 1647, on the left, inscribed with the butt end of the brush in the wet paint. A portrait (or self-portrait) by Nason in Warsaw, dated 1648, is particularly close, and the form of the signature is identical. Also strikingly similar to the Ringling panel is Nason's portrait of Dirck van Waeyen, formerly in the collection of Julius Weitzner, which is also on a rectangular panel of almost precisely the same size (74 x 58 cm.), with the portrait itself framed in an oval and dated 1647. The handling of the faces in the Ringling and Weitzner paintings is similar; the features are generalized, as if lips and nose and eyes had been polished smooth and a slight glaze applied over them.

A possible pendant to the Ringling work is a portrait of a woman, undated, in the collection of Max Michaelis, Capetown, an oval in a rectangle, on panel and of similar size (66 x 57 cm.).

By the sixties, Nason had changed with the times and had become even smoother and more elegant. The landscape in the right background of our work may be by a different hand.

F.W.R.



Attributed to **Caspar Netscher**
Heidelberg, 1639 - The Hague, 1684

107. *Portrait of a Man in Armor* (SN 268)

Oil on canvas;
20 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 17 (52.7 x 43.2 cm.)
Inscriptions: None
Provenance: John Ringling
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 268 as Caspar Netscher (according to W.R.
Valentiner)
Exhibitions: None

The prototype for this elegant little painting is clearly the series of portraits of William III, Stadhouder of the Netherlands and later King of England, executed by Caspar Netscher, particularly the one in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. This image of the strong yet elegant leader—standing in wig and lace and full armor, a rod in one hand and a feathered helmet to the side, and the clash of armies beneath a stormy sky behind—served as a formula used by a large number of Dutch artists in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The present work may be by one of these followers, but Caspar Netscher was so prolific that it is difficult to be certain. Clearly, it is of higher quality than a precisely similar canvas of this size (53 x 74 cm.), in the Galerie, Schleissheim, attributed to Caspar's son Constantin (reproduced, Walther Bernt, *Die Niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, II, Munich, 1960, no. 596). Franciscus Haagen and Jan de Baen also executed portraits close in style to Caspar's. The subject remains unidentified; Netscher had many patrons among the German principalities. It is also unknown whether this work once had a pendant of the sitter's wife.

F.W.R.



108a.



108b.



108c.



108d.

Dionys van Nijmegen

Rotterdam, 1705 - Rotterdam, 1798

108. *Six Scenes of Young Men and Women in a Garden* (SN 297-302)

All oil on canvas;

(SN 297) 100 x 96 (259.2 x 244 cm.)

(SN 298) 127 x 184½ (322.8 x 467.6 cm.)

(SN 299) 127 x 61 (322.8 x 154.9 cm.)

(SN 300) 127 x 58¼ (327.8 x 148 cm.)

(SN 301) 127 x 37¼ (322.8 x 94.6 cm.)

(SN 302) 127 x 50 ½ (322.8 x 128.3 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: The Astor Mansion, New York;
purchased by John Ringling, 1926.

Bibliography: **Suida**, nos. 297-302, as Dutch Painter of the 18th Century.

Exhibitions: None



108e.



108f.

Crieghton Gilbert (museum files) was the first to recognize these paintings as the work of the important eighteenth century Dutch painter of large decorative ensembles, Dionys van Nijmegen. The family Van Nijmegen—Elias, his son Dionys, and grandson Gerard—decorated numerous houses of the regent class in Rotterdam and other cities; those in Rotterdam have, for the most part, been destroyed and thus the six Ringling works become a particularly important document of this aspect of eighteenth century Dutch art.

J.W. Niemeijer ("De ateliernalatenschap van het Rotterdamse schildersgeslacht Van Nijmegen," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 17, 2, 1969, pp. 59-111) has ably set forth the known works of Dionys and the artistic influences that acted on him, most notably, Jacob de Wit, his father Elias, and earlier Dutch artists, such as Gérard de Lairese, Jan Weenix, Nicolaas Verkolje, Jan Glauber, and Isaac de Moucheron. The Ringling paintings are strikingly close in style to the ensemble from the house at Leuvehaven 74, in Rotterdam, now preserved in the Rotterdams Historisch Museum, and the four works now in the Academie van St. Joost, Breda, but originally executed for a house in Rotterdam (reproduced, Niemeijer, figs. 12, 13, 16, 17). Niemeijer (p. 73) has ascertained the date of the Breda works to be 1756, and the

Ringling ensemble was probably painted at this time as well. Six other paintings by Dionys, in a slightly different style, were in the art market, London, in 1960 (Niemeijer, figs. 65-68).

The six works at the Ringling Museum seem not to illustrate a particular subject, beyond an evocation of a classical/arcadian atmosphere. The only hints of violence in this happy group are the juxtaposition of a boar's head with the darkened profile of a man with rough features and a sculpture relief on a sarcophagus with a figure raising a club or sword. In the left background of the largest canvas three girls are placing garlands on a bust whose features are specific enough to suggest a particular personage.

As might be expected with such large works which must have been moved several times, their condition is not good; there has been abrasions, restoration, folds in the canvas, and pieces of canvas added on, especially in the panel in which a girl offers a piece of fruit to a youth (state no. 301). There are even tack holes around the mouth of the flute player in another of the paintings (state no. 298). Nevertheless, this group represents one of the major documents of eighteenth century Dutch art in the United States.

F.W.R.



Imitator of **Adriaen van Ostade**
Haarlem, 1610 - Haarlem, 1684
or

Imitator of **Isaac van Ostade**
Haarlem, 1621 - Haarlem, 1649

109. *The Rommelpot Player* (SN 736)

Oil on panel;
14 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ (37.8 x 28.6 cm.)
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Gottlieb, 1961

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: Paul Brandt, Amsterdam;
Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Gottlieb, Sarasota
Bibliography: None
Exhibitions: None

This is an eighteenth century imitation of the earlier
Haarlem tradition of peasant genre.
F.W.R.



Circle of **Cornelis van Poelenburgh**
Utrecht, 1586 - Utrecht, 1667

110. *Nude Figures in a Landscape* (SN 294)

Oil on panel;
9 1/4 x 16 1/2 (24.8 x 41.9 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Edgar Mills;
Samuel Marx Inc., New York, 1930, no. 155;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 294

Exhibitions: None

The badly abraded condition of this work prevents a precise identification; nevertheless, it is clearly of high quality and may be by Poelenburgh himself. The view of the standing nymph with her back to us is typical of the artist, as is the receding wedge of trees, derived from Adam Elsheimer. Poelenburgh had many followers, and Dirk van der Lisse, Toussaint Gelton, and Abraham van Cuylenburg are all possible authors of this panel painting. Albert Blankert (orally) has suggested an artist in the Haarlem school. The subject may have been only a generalized view of the antique world; the glistening shells in the foreground, however, suggest a beach scene, perhaps Europa or Nausica and her companions.

F.W.R.



Frans Post

Leiden, ca. 1612 - Haarlem, 1680

111. *Rural Landscape in Brazil* (SN 275)

Oil on panel;
13½ x 16 (34.3 x 40.6 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist, lower right:
"F. Post/1664"

Provenance: According to Böhler, purchased by John Ringling in London.

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 275;

Walter Bernt,

Die Niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts,
Münich, 1948, vol. II, pl. 654;

J. de Sousa-Leao,

Frans Post,

Rio de Janeiro, 1948, no. 65;

A. Guimaraes,

"Na Holanda Com Frans Post,"

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro,
vol. 235, 1957, no. 219;

Erik Larsen,

Frans Post Interprete du Brasil,

Amsterdam-Rio de Janeiro, 1962, p. 195, no. 70, fig. 73;

J. de Sousa-Leao,

Frans Post 1612-1680,

Amsterdam, 1973, no. 40.

Exhibitions: None

Frans Post was the most prominent of the artists who accompanied Prince Maurits on his expedition to Brazil in the late 1630's; although the Dutch colonies established there were soon abandoned, Post spent the rest of his career repeating the highly popular and exotic views he had seen. The present work, dated 1664, was executed more than twenty years after his return to the Netherlands; this landscape with a sugar plantation cannot be associated with a particular place in Brazil and is typical of numerous other panels, sometimes identifiable as views of Olinda or Ipojuca and sometimes not. The problem of identification is made more difficult by the heavily abraded condition of the paint; the lower right corner, with the signature and date, has also been repainted to a great degree.

The Dutch established a string of trading posts throughout the world in the first half of the seventeenth century, and particularly on either side of the south Atlantic. A major commodity of these stations was black slaves; the happy, dancing blacks of this and other paintings by Post reappear in Dirk Valkenburg's later views of Surinamese plantations, where the severe *plantage* system of the Dutch led to slave rebellions.

F.W.R.



Paulus Potter

Enkhuizen, 1625 - Amsterdam, 1654

112. *Cattle Resting in a Landscape* (SN 281)

Oil on panel;

20 x 15½ (50.8 x 39.4 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist, lower right:

"Paulus Potter f. 1645"

Provenance: William Wells, London, 1828;

Redleaf, London, 1841;

Duncombe;

Schneider sale, Paris, April 6-7, 1976;

F. Kleinberger, Paris;

Purchased by John Ringling.

Bibliography: **J. Smith,**

Catalogue Raisonné of the Most Eminent Dutch and Flemish Painters,

vol. IV, London, 1834, p. 141, no. 54;

T.V. Westheene,

Paulus Potter, sa vie et ses oeuvres,

The Hague, 1867, no. 45;

Hofstede de Groot,

Catalogue of Dutch Painters,

London, 1908-1927, vol. IV, p. 625, no. 22.

Exhibitions: None

The condition of this painting is not good: the body of the cow on the right has been almost completely lost, the tree trunk has been damaged, large areas of the sky have been overpainted, and the head of the cow on the left has been partly restored. Nevertheless, the energetic touch and superb placement of the cattle against the trees, the meadow, and the sky show the young Paulus Potter at his best. The artist's earliest dated work is 1643, and the Ringling painting, dated 1645, shows the influence of early Haarlem landscape artists, such as Claes van Beresteijn and Jan van Brosterhuizen, in the spreading cauliflower tree patterns that attracted Aelbert Cuyp as well. The present work shows affinities with landscapes by Potter dated 1644, in the Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, and 1646, in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel. The major development in Potter's later career, which was cut short at age twenty-nine, was a greater feeling for foliage, for the blossoming of leaves in a line of trees, and a remarkable sensitivity to late afternoon sunlight.

A precisely similar copy, also on panel and virtually the same size (52 x 41 cm.), but without the inscription, is in the Museum in Budapest; it is attributed there to Albert Klomp (1618-1688), one of Potter's more important followers. One senses a loss in the copy of the master's energy and incisive, even obsessive passion for detail.

F.W.R.



Adam Pynacker

Delft, 1622 - Amsterdam, 1673

113. *Landscape with Hunters* (SN 896)

Oil on canvas;
32 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ (82 x 70.5 cm.)

Museum purchase, 1971

Inscriptions: Signed by the artist, lower right: "A Pynacker"

Provenance: Swedish private collection;
J.H. Galloway, Ayr, Scotland, 1925;
Leonard Koetser Ltd., London;
H. Shickman Gallery, New York.

Bibliography: **C. Hofstede de Groot**,
Holländischen Maler des XVII Jahrhunderts,
Esslingen, 1926, vol. IX, no. 14;
"La Chronique des Arts,"
Supplement a la Gazette des Beaux-Arts,
no. 1237, Feb., 1972, p. 85, pl. 297;
Apollo,
April, 1971, p. 79, color plate.

Exhibitions: None

113a. Adam Pynacker *Landscape with Birch Trees* The Wallace Collection, London



This beautiful painting shows Adam Pynacker at his best. He mingles decay and regeneration in his canvases; human things in particular, buildings, towers, farms, ancient altars, fall into ruin, but even birch trees tumble down and their bark peels off, and the scene seems to be dominated by the setting sun and the most fragile reeds and thinnest flowering branches. The Dutch fell in love with Italy, but Pynacker's Italy is wilder and more mountainous than that of Nicolaes Berchem, Jan Both or Karel Dujardin. Here, as in so many of his works, the massive forms of the hills are played against a decorative, almost rococo, calligraphic border of branches and grass that frames the whole composition.

J. Nieuwstraeten has pointed out (orally) that there are two copies by later hands of the Ringling work: a free copy, with different staffage, probably not seventeenth century,

113b. Adam Pynacker *Shore of an Italian Lake* The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Castle Museum, Nottingham; and a copy slightly broader in touch, 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", in the collection of David Rust, Washington (formerly sale, Polson, Christie's, 21-7-1911, no. 59; sale, Berlin, Lepke, 28-10-1913, no. 26, bought by Max Pohl, Berlin). Nieuwstraeten rightly dates the Ringling work late in Pynacker's career, ca. 1670; his paintings are very rarely dated.

The Ringling painting is in such excellent condition that it is possible to see here what is perhaps a unique method of working: long, thin, gracefully curving lines of white paint, as thin as scratches, follow, and exaggerate, the curves of the various tree trunks. Neither this writer nor Mr. Nieuwstraeten have noted such lines in other paintings by Pynacker.

F.W.R.



Jan Antonisz. van Ravesteyn

The Hague, 1572 - The Hague, 1657

114. *Portrait of Maria Bultel* (SN 254)

Oil on panel;
43½ x 34 (110.5 x 86.4 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Inscribed, upper right: *Aetatis suae 36*/Ano 1619"

Provenance: Mniszech;

G. Petit sale, Paris, Sept. 11, 1902, no. 164;

William Ellis, Bryn Mawr, Pa.;

E.M. Mahrman, Cleveland;

Samuel T. Freeman sale, Phila., April 27-28, 1927, no. 118;

John de Witt Galleries, New York;

Brandus, New York;

Christie's sale, London, April 26, 1929;

purchased by John Ringling.

Bibliography: *Suida*, no. 254 as *Portrait of a Patrician Lady*

Exhibitions: None

114a. Detail of inscription and date



114b. Jan Antonisz. van Ravesteijn *Portrait of Simon van der Does* Art Gallery The University of Notre Dame Notre Dame, Indiana



Jan van Ravesteyn was one of the finest of the many portraitists to the regent class of the Netherlands in the seventeenth century; he painted the burgermeesters of the Dutch towns and members of the Orange family with equal energy and skill, visible here in the glowing health of this young woman and the shining surfaces of her clothes.

The pendant of this work is now in the collection of the University of Notre Dame and shows Maria Bultel's husband, Simon van der Does (1584-1652). The pendant is on panel of precisely the same size, and inscribed *Aetatis suae 36* *Ano 1619*. Maria Bultel was born in Antwerp in 1584 or 1585 and died in Amsterdam in 1662. The two were married in 1604 or 1605. The Ringling and Notre Dame paintings were sold together in 1902 (sale, Mniszech, Paris, G. Petit, 9/11-4-1902, nos. 165/164, with plates); the reproduction in the sale catalogue shows that the shield of the woman was once placed on a (painted) pilaster. Simon van der Does served as sheriff and in other posts for the city of Amsterdam; Van Ravesteyn portrayed at least two other members of the Van der Does family, Jacob van der Does and Beatrix van Sypesteyn, 1615, Museum van Sypesteyn, Loosdrecht.

Although the head and right hand of the figure are in almost perfect condition, there have been losses throughout the rest of the painting, particularly in her clothes and the gold decoration and gold chain, which have been strengthened. The inscription seems to have been strengthened, at least in the number 36.

F.W.R.



Attributed to **Rembrandt van Rijn**
Leiden, 1606 - Amsterdam, 1609

115. *Portrait of a Woman* (SN 253)

- Oil on panel;
54 x 40 (137.2 x 101.6 cm.)
J.R., 1936
- Inscriptions: None
- Provenance: According to Böhler,
purchased by John Ringling in London from
A. Reyse for £5,000.
- Bibliography: **W.R. Valentiner**,
Rembrandt Paintings in America,
N.Y., 1931, no. 107, pl. 107;
A. Bredius, *Rembrandt Gemälde*,
Berlin, 1935, pl. 380;
K. Bauch,
Rembrandt Gemälde
Berlin, 1966, pl. 510, p. 296;
A. Bredius, rev. H. Gerson,
Rembrandt, The Complete Edition of the
Paintings, London, 1969, pl., p. 296, p. 580;
Giovanni Arpino,
L'Opera pittorica Complete di Rembrandt,
Milan, 1969, pl. 302, pp. 114, 115;
H. Gerson,
Rembrandt Paintings,
Amsterdam, 1968, pl. 281, pp. 366, 499.
- Exhibitions: Detroit, **The Detroit Institute of Arts**,
Paintings of Rembrandt, 1930, no. 34;
New York, **Wildenstein**,
Public Education Association's Rembrandt
Exhibit, 1950.

This magisterial painting is one of the finest and most interesting seventeenth century Dutch portraits in this country.

As so often is the case, a thorough study of this work must begin with a discussion of its physical condition. Its state of conservation is not good; even a photograph of the panel in stripped condition, taken in August 1952, before its most recent restoration, can only hint at the extensive damage it has suffered. Only the right hand and the face retain the original paint surface to any appreciable degree. The face is largely authentic; the left nostril is restored, and the right eye, over the cleat, has been damaged slightly. The cuff, bracelets, and back of the hand are in good condition; a crack runs through the knuckles, the index finger to the right of the thong it holds has been restored, and the tips of the other fingers have been lost. The general outlines of the rest of the painting—torso, hair, right arm, left arm and hand, background—are more or less visible, but only in terms of their basic forms, proportions, and placement within the whole composition. A swath of hanging drapery in the upper right visible in early photographs has now disappeared. A mixture of abrasion, clumsy overpainting, and, perhaps, chemical deterioration has conspired to leave us a picture of which perhaps ten percent is reliable; little can be said about the majority of the work with any certainty.

Two butterfly cleats have been inserted in the work, one at the bottom, below the right wrist, and the other above this, with the right eye painted on top of the right "wing" of the cleat. A very regular, slightly slanting break in the wood going through the center of both cleats suggests strongly that they were inserted not to repair a crack but rather to join two panels together, in preparation for executing the painting—a not uncommon studio method in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Two long cracks, as well as other disturbances, have developed on either side of this join. It is clear that the eye on top of the cleat is original paint; it is slightly unusual to have the cleat go all the way through the wood, rather than being visible just from the back of the painting. The outline of the cleat, once the gesso ground and underpainting had been applied, presumably would not have been visible in the finished painting.

The Ringling painting has often been called pendant to the well-known *Portrait of a Man* inscribed *Rembrandt* /1650 by a later hand, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Bredius 256). Indeed, the two works were both in the De Fraula (1738) and Bessborough (1801) collections, both are almost the same size (the Ringling painting is over three inches higher, however), both are arched (the Fitzwilliam painting's arch is flatter), both present figures in similar poses and "medieval" dress, and, of course, they both show affinities with the style of Rembrandt in the 1650's. On the other hand, there are several differences between the two works that suggest they may not have been conceived, or at least executed, simultaneously. For example, although both figures are set in rather dark and monumental interiors, their backgrounds do differ slightly: the Fitzwilliam's shows a stone pier, while the Ringling's seems to be a curtain spread behind the figure. When Rembrandt executes a pair of portraits, he is, in this writer's opinion, careful to provide a continuity of setting between one painting and the other. At the same time, he varies the pose of the body and the gestures of the hands to create a subtle interplay between the two personalities. The Fitzwilliam and Ringling figures are rather unimaginatively similar in gaze and in the way the outer hands are at rest and the inner hands are active. In this connection, we are reminded of the wonderful portraits of Nicolaas van Bambeeck and Agatha Bas, in Brussels and Lon-



115c. Detail

don (Bredius 218 and 360), and the most unusual pendants formerly at Vienna, Lanckoronski Collection, and Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection (Bredius 219 and 359); the latter pair wear "medieval" dress and seem to be allegorical or historiated portraits, as do the Fitzwilliam and Ringling paintings. Of course, the differences in the background and the relative lack of differences in the poses in our two works might be an indication of an authorship other than Rembrandt's.

The most significant difference between the two paintings, however, is stylistic, and indeed, qualitative. The looseness and lack of definition in the Fitzwilliam work, the weakness in the conception and execution of the hands, the almost garish colors, the hesitant, tentative, almost effete quality of the man's personality, as presented here, make it difficult for this writer to accept it as a work by Rembrandt himself; the painting has not been X-rayed or thoroughly examined and restored in recent years. Until then, we must leave in abeyance the question of whether or not it is a work from the middle years of the seventeenth century. In this connection, it is worth remembering that several painted copies after the Fitzwilliam painting—or after a lost original by Rembrandt—do exist. The Fitzwilliam work, in spite of three cracks, cleats, some overpainting, and pentimenti, seems to be in healthy condition.

It is difficult to discuss the quality of a painting as badly damaged as the Ringling work. However, the careful execution of the glowing, heavy flesh and the gleaming bracelets, the solid, masterful weight and presence of the woman as a whole, and the unusual and evocative space behind and around the figure, with its shifting shafts of light and shadow, suggest an artist of much higher quality than the person who executed the Fitzwilliam panel. The Fitzwilliam work does have two cleats inserted into it, one should note; however, they have been used to prevent two cracks in the upper right from widening (one insertion is more of a plug than a cleat), and thus they have a different function from the cleats in the Ringling painting. Indeed, in two large wood panels of this age, it is not unusual to have a variety of physical problems, and the presence of cleats in both works does not mean they necessarily were made at the same time.

There are, then, several alternatives to explain the similarities and differences between these two works. First, it is quite possible that both paintings were done at the same time by the same artist, but have survived in radically different states of preservation; if both works were in fact from the same hand, that artist was probably a pupil of Rembrandt or even an artist from a much later date. Second, it is possible, but far from likely, that both works were by Rembrandt, but the Fitzwilliam painting was as badly damaged as

the Ringling painting and was subsequently completely overpainted. Third, it is also possible that the Fitzwilliam portrait was left unfinished by Rembrandt and was completed by a later hand. However, given the various differences between the two works, particularly in style and quality, this writer tends toward a fourth alternative: the Ringling painting was executed by Rembrandt, and the Fitzwilliam work was painted by a pupil, or indeed, is the best of the various copies after a lost original by Rembrandt and was bought in the early eighteenth century—or even purposely executed then—to make a pair with the Ringling painting. It is impossible to determine whether or not such a putative lost Rembrandt original was first painted as a pendant to the Ringling woman. This proposal is made very tentatively; the damage to the Ringling work and the lack of a recent, thorough technical examination of the Fitzwilliam panel make a final conclusion impossible at this time.

Although the surviving fragments of the Ringling work are of a quality consistent with Rembrandt, it is important to mention alternative artists in his school who might have painted it. Attributions to Ferdinand Bol and Willem Drost remain unsatisfactory, although possible; a portrait of a young man by Reynier van Cherwen, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, is suggestively close in style and quality to the Ringling painting.

Finally, the Ringling painting must be discussed in terms of its subject. It does seem to be a *portrait historié*; the woman—and also the Fitzwilliam man, if this general type in fact belongs with her—are in dress that is neither contemporary nor classical. They have a martial air and seem more historical, "Renaissance" or "medieval", rather than allegorical or mythological; there is a quality of nobility and temporal power about them. It may be that they are not meant to recall any specific historical figures; however, their clothes and the setting and lighting are good "objective correlates" of Joost van den Vondel's most famous play, *Gysbrecht van Aemstel*, written in 1637 and already famous in the seventeenth century, particularly in Amsterdam, the city that the play glorifies. Vondel's atmosphere of battles and betrayal and hiding, often taking place at night, in the castles and cloisters of Amsterdam in about 1300, are certainly not foreign to the heavy, curtained interior, the massive stone blocks, the armor, and the two-handed sword. If this proposal is correct, then the fleshy woman represented here would have been cast as Gysbrecht's wife, Badeloch. H. van de Waal has written an important article exploring Rembrandt's possible illustrations of this play ("Rembrandt at Vondel's Tragedy *Gysbrecht van Aemstel*," in *Steps Toward Rembrandt*, Amsterdam and London, 1974, pp. 73-89). F.W.R.



115b. Photograph of the painting as it was ca. 1930



115a. Photograph of painting during restoration process.



115d. Detail



115e. Detail



115f. **Attributed to Rembrandt van Rijn**
Portrait of a Man
The Fitzwilliam Museum
Cambridge Museum
Cambridge, England



School of **Rembrandt van Rijn**
Leiden, 1606 - Amsterdam, 1669

116. *Lamentation* (SN 252)

Oil on canvas;
71 x 78¼ (180.3 x 198.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Annotated bottom-right center
(signature seems to be above original paint layer):
"Rembrandt f. 1650"

Provenance: Marquess of Abercorn (at least by 1836);
Duke of Abercorn, Baron's Court, Ireland, in 1899;
on loan to Dublin, National Gallery, around 1880;
with Forbes and Paterson, London;
Comtesse de Bearn, Paris;
Comtesse de Behague, Paris;
sale, Christie's, London, June 28, 1929, no. 76;
purchased by John Ringling for £8,190.

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*A Catalogue Raisonné of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish
and French Painters*,
VII, London, 1829-1842, no. 95;
C. Vosmaer,
Rembrandt,
The Hague, 1868, p. 522;
Eugene Dutuit,
L'Oeuvre complet de Rembrandt . . .
Paris, 1881-1884, p. 42;
W. Bode,
Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei,
Braunschweig, 1883, pp. 432, note 1, 581, no. 156;
Emile Michel,
Rembrandt, sa vie, sa oeuvre, et son temps,
Paris, 1893, p. 555;
W. von Bode and C. Hofstede de Groot,
The Complete Work of Rembrandt,
V, Paris, 1897-1906, no. 337;
C. Hofstede de Groot,
Catalogue of Dutch Painters,
VI, London, 1908-1927, no. 137, p. 105;
A. Rosenberg,
Rembrandt des Meisters Gemälde,
Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1908, pp. 553, 566;
W.R. Valentiner,
Rembrandt (Klassiker der Kunst),
Stuttgart, 1909, p. 533;
W.R. Valentiner,
Rembrandt Paintings in America,
N.Y., 1932, no. 103;
August Mayer,
"Rembrandt in America", *Pantheon*,
Dec., 1932, p. 395;
A. Bredius,
Rembrandt Gemälde,
Berlin, 1935, pl. 582;
A. Bredius,
"Rembrandt's Beweenig van Christus aan den voet van het
Kruis,"
Oud-Holland,
LIV, 1937, p. 219, fig. 1;
Tancred Borenius,
Rembrandt Selected Paintings,
London and N.Y., 1942, p. 13, fig. 16;
Suida, no. 252;
Paul C. Grigaut,
"Rembrandt and His Pupils in North Carolina,"
Art Quarterly,
19, 1956, p. 406;

Valadimir Gurewich,

"Observations on the Iconography of the Wound in Christ's
Side, with Special Reference to its Position,"
Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,
XX, 1957, nos. 3-4, p. 362, pl. p. 29 no. C.;

W. Sumowski,

"Nachträge zum Rembrandtjahr 1956,"
*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt Universität zu
Berlin*:
Gesellschafts und sprachwiss., VII, 1957-1958, pp. 231,
234, 240;

J. Rosenberg,

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London, 1964, p. 371;

K. Bauch,

Rembrandt Gemälde,
Berlin, 1966, p. 49;

A. Bredius, rev., H. Gerson,

Rembrandt, The Complete Edition of the Paintings,
London, 1969, pl. 582, p. 492, pp. 109, 610;

J.R. Judson,

"Rembrandt in Canada",
Burlington Magazine,
CXI, no. 800, Nov., 1969, p. 703;

G. Arpino,

L'Opera pittorica Completa di Rembrandt,
Milan, 1969, pl., p. 132;

B. Rifkin,

"Rembrandt and His Circle",
part 2, *Art News*,
LXVIII, no. 6, Oct., 1969, pp. 31-35, ill. p. 33;
"Symposium und Ausstellung 'Rembrandt After Three
Hundred Years' in Chicago,"
Kunstchronik,
Feb. 1970, pp. 29-34, pl. p. 42.

Exhibitions:

London, **British Institution**, 1835, no. 115;
London, **Royal Academy**,
Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters, 1876, no. 153;
London, **Royal Academy**,
Rembrandt, 1899, no. 94;
Detroit, **The Detroit Institute of Arts**,
Paintings by Rembrandt, 1930, no. 53;
New York World's Fair, *Masterpieces of Art*,
Catalogue of European and American Paintings, no. 84;
New York, **Duveen Galleries**,
Paintings by the Great Dutch Masters, 1942, no. 44;
Raleigh, **North Carolina Museum of Art**,
Rembrandt and His Pupils, 1956, no. 19;
Milwaukee, **Art Institute**,
Six Great Painters, 1957;
Montreal, **The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts**,
Toronto, Art Gallery of Toronto,
Rembrandt and His Pupils, 1969, no. 44;
Chicago, **The Art Institute of Chicago**,
Minneapolis, **The Minneapolis Institute of Arts**,
Detroit, **The Detroit Institute of Arts**,
Rembrandt After Three Hundred Years, 1969-1970, no. 24.



116a. Painting with frame removed.

This beautiful and important painting is one of the major works from the school of Rembrandt in the United States. The pathos and tenderness of the figures, the balance of youth and age, the radiant colors of the white sheet and the red cowl of the Virgin Mary emphasize that this canvas must be from the hand of a gifted, if unidentified Dutch artist of the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

Any study of this work must begin with its condition. Although no X-rays of any value have ever been made of it, close examination of the paint surface under strong and ultraviolet light reveals serious problems. The boots on the ladder, the head between the ladder and the Cross, and the figure looking upwards, just to the right of the ladder, are probably additions, as is the inscription, with signature and date, in the lower center. There is a repair along the upper right edge of the Cross, as well as two large patches and much overpainting in the sky to the left of the Cross. A detail that is now esthetically bothersome, the awkward junction of Christ's head and shoulders, may be explained by the extensive loss of original paint in Christ's hair and beard and parts of His face; Christ's lower legs and feet have also been abraded, the back and hips of Joseph of Arimathea have been restored, and little is left of the painting of the right arm and body of the boy leaning on the Cross. The painting has been arched, and the upper left and upper right corners have been made up; although this alteration was made long enough ago to produce corresponding stretch marks within the original painting, the fact that the cuts were made straight rather than curved and the figures, particularly the weeping St. John, were left crowded in the remaining space, suggests that the original canvas was not arched, or rather, it was probably not arched along the edges we see today. However, although the figures on the left and right may once have been given more space, there is no evidence to indicate an unusually severe cutting down of the original canvas, particularly if the boots of the person on the cross and the two figures looking upwards are removed in our reading of the composition. As an aside on the physical aspects of this work, it may be of interest that the artist has chosen to hide the vertical seam joining the two pieces of canvas by emphasizing it, that is, by making it coincide with the highlighted left edge of the cross.

Although the Ringling painting shows correspondences with several of Rembrandt's paintings, prints and drawings, it is intimately related to the master's oil sketch of the same subject in the National Gallery, London, and a series of paintings and drawings, both Dutch and Italian, that derive from it. The prolific Bernard Picart made a print in reverse from the London Rembrandt in 1730, and several paintings are copies of Picart's print (Sotheby's, 7-10-1967, no. 182; Christie's, 3-7-53, no. 159). Rembrandt's oil sketch shows physical evidence of the artist's working and reworking, on paper, canvas, and panel, and he executed a powerful drawing of the same scene, also from the late thirties or early forties and also made up of several sheets pasted together, now in the British Museum (Anthony Harris, "Rembrandt's Study for 'The Lamentation for Christ,'" *Master Drawings*, VII, 2, 1969, pp. 158-164). A drawing by a member of the Rembrandt circle, formerly in the collection of Paul J. Sachs (Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 161, figure 6), is a copy of the London oil sketch in an early stage, as a horizontal composition, without

the addition at top and bottom. By 1738, the London painting was in Venice, where it was copied in a chiaroscuro woodcut dated 1738 by John Baptist Jackson. While in Venice, the work served as the inspiration of a drawing by Domenico Tiepolo and at least three paintings variously attributed to Giovanni Battista and Domenico Tiepolo (Franklin W. Robinson, "Rembrandt's Influence in Eighteenth Century Venice," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 18, 1967, pp. 180-190). The key difference between the Rembrandt and the Tiepolo's is the omission of the weeping woman on the left and the insertion of a weeping youth (St. John) on the right. In 1762, the Rembrandt went to England, where it has remained.

There is also an oil sketch, 82 x 68 cm., on panel, in the collection of Dr. Fritz Hans Fankhauser (1961), Basel (reproduced, *Oud-Holland*, 1937, p. 219). This work, which this author has not seen in the original, cannot be attributed with certainty; interestingly, both the Basel and Ringling paintings were once in the collection of the Comtesse de Béarn, Paris, and the Basel sketch shows similarities with both the London work and the Ringling schoolpiece in such a way that it becomes possible that it is a bridge between the two, a preparatory study for the latter, based on the former. For example, both the London and Basel works are arched, the central part of the Basel sketch has been cut out and pasted down, and the general vertical format of the scene, the poses of the thieves and the broad touch, particularly in the chiaroscuro of the sky, are similar in both instances. On the other hand, there are indications in the Basel work of details that will only appear in the Ringling painting, such as the boy leaning on the cross, the pose of Christ's body, particularly of the arms, the omission of the ladder on the left, the frontal cross, the pose of, and emphasis on, Joseph, and the omission of the weeping woman on the left. At the same time, it is difficult to believe that the Basel sketch is a copy after the Ringling painting since it incorporates some details unique to the latter but jumps back to the original Rembrandt for other details. (Similarly, in the Basel work, the details of the thieves and the frontal arrangement of the crosses are still much closer to the London sketch, particularly with its arching, than they are to related works by Rembrandt, such as the print of the *Three Crosses* from the 1650's.) By the same token, the Ringling painting probably is not a copy of the Basel sketch by another hand, since many of the changes that are incorporated in the larger work are only summarily suggested in the much smaller and freely executed Basel sketch; indeed, clearly the Basel sketch served as a kind of transition for a detail like the wooden doorway with a figure walking through, which becomes a large, rectangular tower in the Ringling painting. The present arching of the Ringling painting, which may or may not be original, nevertheless may be a reflection of the artist's original format, suggested by the Basel and London works. The shift to a horizontal format in the Ringling painting is already suggested by the pasted, "collage" part of the Basel sketch, in imitation of Rembrandt's working method; it is important to remember that the Sachs drawing is also horizontal and concentrates on the core of the London composition. Since it is possible that the top and bottom sections may be by another hand (Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 159, and Neil MacLaren, *The Dutch School*, London, 1960, p. 306), perhaps the Basel/

116b. Detail of false signature and date.



116c. Detail



Ringling artist, like the artist of the Sachs drawing, focused on that part of the London painting that most impressed him, the part, apparently, by Rembrandt himself.

It seems clear that the Ringling artist, with the aid of the Basel sketch, was responding directly to the Rembrandt, no doubt before 1738 while it was still in Amsterdam, as noted in Picart's print of 1730, which copies the complete composition as we know it today. However, there is an important similarity between the Ringling painting and the series of works by the Tiepolos: the weeping John on the right, absent in the original Rembrandt. One explanation for this similarity would be that the Ringling work is a copy of the Tiepolos; however, given the relationship to the Basel sketch, the Ringling artist must also have known the original Rembrandt. It is unlikely that an artist would make such a synthesis of disparate sources. The presence of the weeping John in the later works, both southern and northern, might better be explained by the fact that John's presence is a traditional aspect of this scene. Indeed, the differences in the two conceptions of this figure are striking: Tiepolo's John raises both hands to his eyes and dramatically uses his whole cloak and not just his scarf. Furthermore, that the figure of John in the Ringling work might have had a northern origin is suggested by the existence of a drawing of a similar figure, in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; whether or not the drawing was done by the Ringling artist, it does show that the figure was not unknown among the artists contemporary to Rembrandt in the Netherlands, and we do not have to turn to the Tiepolos to explain its existence.

Of course, there may appear some day one or more missing links to clarify, or further complicate, this complex of relationships. A study such as we have attempted here is perhaps useful in suggesting the tortuous tangle of a so-called "Rembrandt problem," with its variety of relevant works, paintings, oil sketches, and drawings, both Dutch and Italian, both seventeenth and eighteenth century, and the importance of the physical evidence, both as an indication of the artists' methods and as a way of determining authenticity.

The attribution of this beautiful, damaged painting presents an equally complex problem. The existence of the Basel sketch, perhaps by the same hand, is no help, since it has been called Rembrandt (Bredius, *Oud-Holland*, 1937), Lievens (Gerson, 1971, p. 609), and possibly even eighteenth century (Judson, Chicago, 1969, p. 44). Indeed, the sketch is one of a large number of such school compositions, often in indifferent condition or executed by more than one hand, as in the *Christ on the Cross*, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts (Bredius 590). It is also impossible to determine at this time the authorship of the Sachs copy of the central part of the London sketch.

The situation is no better in the case of the Ringling painting itself. It has been attributed to Barend and Carel Fabritius, Nicolaes Maes, Samuel van Hoogstraten, Willem Drost, and Rembrandt himself; Judson (Chicago, 1969, p. 44) has pointed out its possible dependence on a fifteenth century prototype, Geertgen tot Sint Jans' *Lamentation*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. The Ringling painting is one of several works from the Rembrandt circle, large and important canvases that cannot be attributed to the master or any one of his pupils with certainty; this highly heterogeneous group would include the *David and Saul*, Mauritshuis, The Hague, *Christ Blessing Children*, National Gallery, London, *Christ and the Centurion*, Wallace Collection, London, *Women with Children*, Museum of Art, Toledo, *Behead-*



Detail
116e.

ing of St. John, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and *Parable of the Good Samaritan*, Musée du Louvre, Paris. The affinity of the Ringling painting with, for example, the Mauritshuis *David and Saul* is certainly not close enough to suggest a common authorship, and the major pupils of Rembrandt seem equally distant, or undefined. The images of women in Drost's paintings, with their serene introspection, do have much in common with the representation of the Virgin in the Ringling canvas.

Among lesser figures in the Rembrandt Circle, Abraham van Dyck (as in the *Ruth and Naomi* attributed to him, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and Reynier van Gherwen, in his paintings in Munich and Vienna, may some day become clearly enough defined to allow positive attribution of the Ringling painting to one or the other of these artists. J.G. van Gelder has tentatively suggested (orally) an attribution to Carel van Savoye.

There are three paintings that may be grouped with the Ringling canvas; we should consider these four works not so much as the product of the same artist but rather as the manifestation of a common trend, approach, among artists of the later Rembrandt school, and the sign that there was a market for such works. This group includes *St. Matthew and the Angel*, Museum of Art, Raleigh, North Carolina, *St. Peter Fleeing from Prison*, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, and *Hannah, Samuel and Eli*, formerly Benyon Collection and Agnew's, London (1956), as well as the Ringling *Lamentation*. These four works are large, with massive, grave figures, broadly painted, and they present Biblical subjects; all of them have been variously attributed to Carel van der Pluym, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Barend Fabritius, Drost, Maes, and Hoogstraten.

Clearly, the Ringling work is a large and important painting; the power of this grey, withered body set against a radiant white sheet, the tenderness of the Virgin framed in red, the intense, almost angry mourning of the older woman at Christ's feet, the shadowed melancholy of the boy at the cross, the intimacy of this monumental canvas and its extraordinary contrasts of light and shadow make us regret all the more that the painting's relationship to Rembrandt and to the various members of the Rembrandt circle must remain undefined, a problem still so common in seventeenth century Dutch studies.

F.W.R.



116d. Detail



116f. Detail



116g. Detail

116h. Rembrandt van Rijn
Oil Sketch for a Lamentation
The National Gallery of Art,
London



116i. Rembrandt van Rijn
The Lamentation
Pen, ink and wash drawing
The British Museum, London





116j. Attributed to Rembrandt van Rijn
Oil Sketch of *The Lamentation*
Dr. Fritz Hans Fankhauser, Basel



116k. School of Rembrandt
St. Matthew and the Angel
Museum of Art
Raleigh, North Carolina

116l. School of Rembrandt
St. Peter Fleeing from Prison
Museum of Art
Rhode Island School of Design
Providence, Rhode Island

116m. School of Rembrandt
Hannah, Samuel and Eli
Formerly Benyon Collection
Agnew's, London





Herman Saftleven

Rotterdam, 1609 - Utrecht, 1685

118. *Sunset Landscape with Herdsmen* (SN 514)

Oil on panel;
20 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ (52.1 x 71.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist at the lower right edge:
"HS" (as a monogram) "1645"

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: None

Exhibitions: None

Saftleven's eloquent sunset landscape was recently discovered in the Ringling Museum reserve storage area where it had passed unnoticed, bearing the label "nineteenth century copy." A recent cleaning has revealed the full power and subtle tonalities of Saftleven as he orchestrates one of his typical Rhine or Mosel River views seen through the veil of artistic license. The battered, almost leafless tree at the right and thorny, vine covered vegetation at the lower left is realistically painted and typically Dutch, while the pale yellow sunset, fluffy clouds and distant fuzzy hills are more reminiscent of Italian idyllic views of the Roman Campagna.

Another *Sunset Landscape*, dated 1645, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, no. 1228 has a similar twisted tree at the left and thorny foliage in the foreground. Although we know that Saftleven used Cornelis van Poelenburgh to paint staffage figures in his early landscapes, the four resting herdsmen at the lower right are his own.

W.H.W.



118a. Detail of monogram and date



Follower of **Hendrik Willem Schweickhardt**
Brandenburg, 1746 - London, 1797

119. *Winter Scene* (SN 332)

Oil on canvas;
29 x 38¼ (73.3 x 97.2 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: John Ringling
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 332

Hendrick Schweickhardt was one of the most interesting late eighteenth century Dutch painters; trained by an Italian in The Hague, he also travelled to London, where he dedicated some etchings to Benjamin West. As Earl Roger Mandle has pointed out (*Dutch Masterpieces from the Eighteenth Century*, Minneapolis, Toledo, Philadelphia, 1971, pp. 94-95), Schweickhardt, with Cats and Vinkeles, was important as a bridge between the charming, and pioneering, winter landscapes of Hendrick Avercamp in the early seventeenth century and the brilliant productions of Andreas Schelfhout in this genre in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Ringling painting is an old copy of one of Schweickhardt's best-known compositions; original versions are in the art market (Abels), Cologne, 1957, in a sale (Christie's), Laren, 23-3-1976, no. 253, and a watercolor in a sale (Mak van Waay), Amsterdam, 10-11-1970, no. 391 (reproduced, *Oud-Holland*, 89, 1975, p. 176, fig. 47). Similar winter scenes are in the Louvre, signed and dated 1779, and in the Museum Smidt van Gelder, Antwerp.

F.W.R.



Jan Steen

Leiden, 1626 - Leiden, 1679

120. *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (SN 269)

Oil on canvas;
27½ x 36½ (69.9 x 92.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed by the artist, lower right: "J Steen"
Provenance: H.A. Bauer sale, Amsterdam, Sept. 11, 1820, no. 122;
W. Gruyter Collection, Amsterdam, 1833/1882
W. Gruyter sale, Amsterdam, Oct. 24, 1882, no. 107;
F.H. Wente sale, Paris, Feb. 22, 1893;
Schönlank, Cologne, April 28, 1896, no. 172
as *Benjaminites Carrying off Shiloh's Daughters*;
F. Kleinberger, Paris;
W. Dahl Collection, Düsseldorf;
A. Preyer Collection, Vienna, 1901;
W.A. Clark Collection, New York;
American Art Association sale, New York, 1928;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **J. Smith**,
Catalogue Raisonné of the Most Eminent Dutch and Flemish Painters,
vol. IV, 1833, no. 197;
Van Westrheene,
Jan Steen étude sur l'art en Hollande,
1856;
Hofstede de Groot,
1907, vol. I, p. 20, no. 76;
A. Bredius,
Jan Steen,
Amsterdam, 1927, p. 40, pl. 15;
A. Everett Austin, Jr.,
"The Baroque,"
Art News Annual,
vol. XIX, 1950, p. 25;
Baruch D. Kirschenbaum,
The Religious and Historical Paintings of Jan Steen;
New York, 1977, pp. 44-45, 68, 142, fig. 50.
Exhibitions: Amsterdam, 1867, no. 186.

120a. Detail of signature



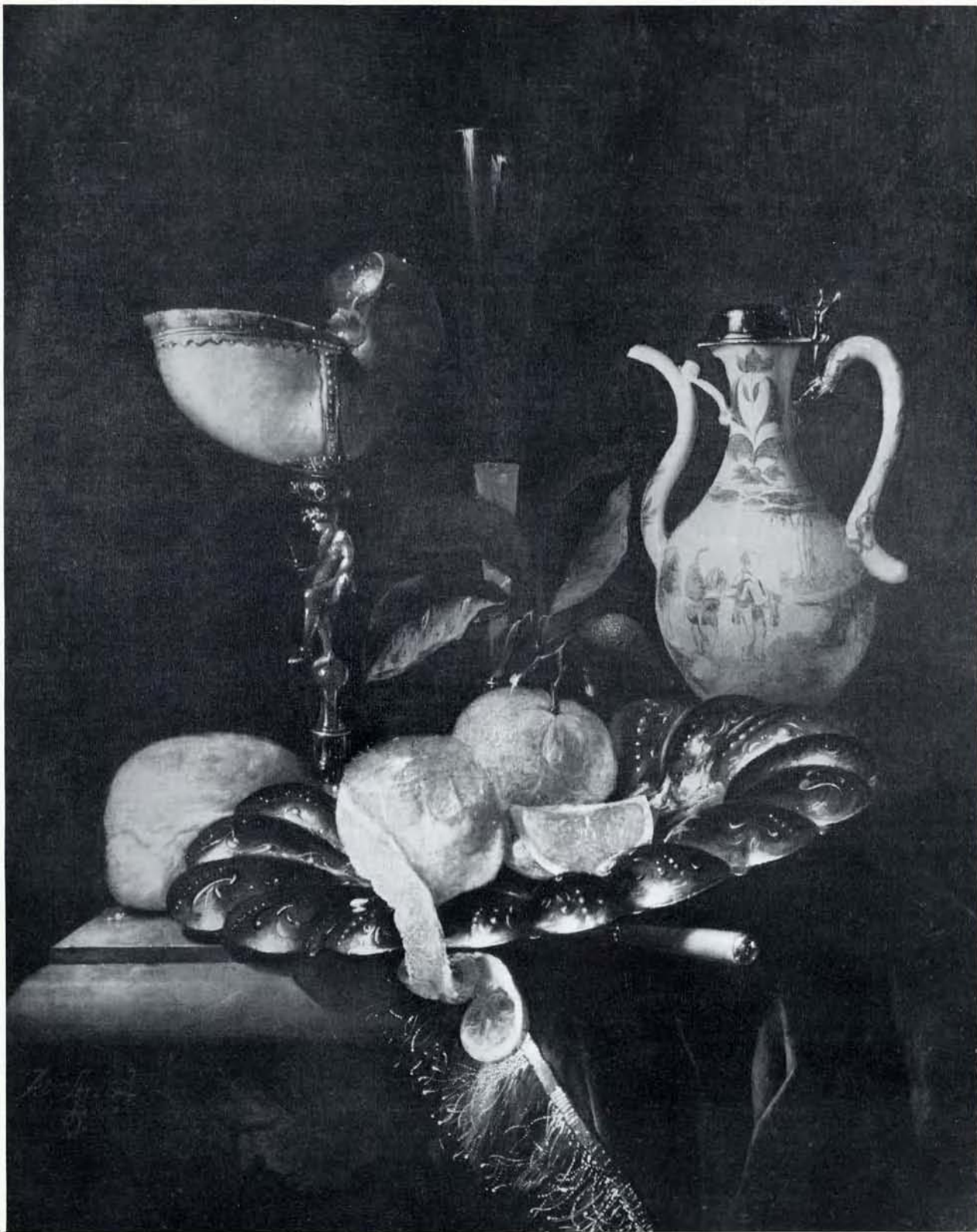
In spite of the indifferent condition of this painting (there has been inpainting in many of the figures, and the trees and clouds have lost a great deal of detail), the brilliant feeling of Jan Steen for textures and colorful clothing and the marvelous energy of his figures are still readily apparent. These pairs of struggling figures are linked back and forth in space across the foreground stage of the painting, and the branches of the trees repeat the frenzied gestures of the girls. The man and woman facing us on the right are strikingly reminiscent of the poses in Bernini's masterful marble group, *Pluto and Persephone*, another scene of antique Roman rape; it may be important to remember in this connection that the subject of the rape of the Sabine women is more common in Italian baroque art than in Dutch.

The canvas is undated; the composition is closest to Steen's *Expulsion from the Temple*, dated 1675, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, with its arrangement of many highly agitated figures across a wide space. In the 1660's, Steen developed larger figures pushing deeper into space; the Ringling painting seems, then, to be from the late sixties or, better, early seventies.

The subject is undoubtedly the rape of the Sabines, rather than the brief Old Testament story of the Benjamin-

ites and the daughters of Shiloh; the round temple at the back, the examples of classical dress, and the sheer number of women, including those in the far right, confirm the ancient Roman character of the scene. Although the subject is fairly rare in Dutch baroque painting, it became more common at the end of the century, for example, in the work of Gérard de Lairesse and Willem van Mieris. Steen has inserted several interesting iconographic elements: the girl in the center foreground reaches in despair towards the girdle (a ribbon), rose, and pearls on the ground, symbols of her lost innocence. Tendrils of ivy, symbol of marital fidelity, have been loosened from the trunks of the trees in the foreground and the far right. The girl on the far right is also dropping flowers on the ground, as a leering figure from the repertory of the *Commedia dell'Arte* grasps her. The idea of woman as victim (and sometime victor) is extremely common in Dutch art, and in Steen himself; for example, in a painting in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, he shows Erysichthon selling his daughter Hypermnestra for food, and the artist treats other themes such as a sacrifice of Iphigenia, and also the banquet of Antony and Cleopatra, in which the woman defeats the man.

F.W.R.



Jurriaen van Streeck

Amsterdam, 1632 - Amsterdam, 1687

121. *Still Life with Fruit* (SN 290)

Oil on canvas;
27 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ (69.5 x 57.2 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed by the artist below the edge of the table,
lower left: J. v. Streeck/f.

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Walther Bernt**,
Die Niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts,
vol. III, München, 1948, plate 807;
Suida, no. 290.

Exhibitions: None

121a. **Jurriaen van Streeck** *Still Life with Lobster* De Lakenhal Museum, Leiden



Like the more ambitious canvases by Jan de Heem and Willem van Aelst in the Ringling Museum, this good example of the work of Jurriaen van Streeck shows the Dutch and Flemish love of expensive and exotic objects, arranged casually and intimately. In the Van Streeck, we are presented with a nautilus shell from the Indian Ocean with silver mounts (other such shells were engraved by Jan Bellekin with incongruous scenes of peasant life), a silver plate, perhaps by one of the great Amsterdam baroque silversmiths like Jan Lutma or Andries Grill, a Chinese (or Delft imitation) pitcher with pewter mounts, and elegant carpet and table. These basic elements of the painting are common in

121b. **Chinese Export Ewer ("Transitional")**, ca. 1640 The Victoria and Albert Museum London



Van Streeck's work, even down to the sculpted head on the underside of the table and the glittering fringe to the carpet; virtually the same pot, Chinese or Delft, appears in another work by the artist, sold at auction, Frankfurt, May, 1928, no. 48, but close variants appear repeatedly. Although Hendrick van Streeck is very close to Jurriaen in style and quality, the signature in the lower left seems original to the painting.

The condition of the work is now thin, especially in the pitcher, flute glass, leaves, along the top of the bread, and in the background, which is still just identifiable as a spread curtain.
F.W.R.



In the Manner of **Willem van de Velde II**
Leiden, 1633 - London, 1707

122. *A Naval Battle* (SN 285)

Oil on canvas;
41½ x 72 (105.3 x 182.9 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: John Ringling

Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 285 as Dutch Painter of the XVII Century,
possibly Willem van de Velde the Elder.

Exhibitions: None

This work is reminiscent of Willem van de Velde's many views of naval battles, usually between the English and the Dutch, e.g., the battle of Kijkduin, August 21, 1673 (Maritime Museum, Greenwich). It is difficult to date this work, because of its poor condition, but it is probably not from the seventeenth century.

F.W.R.



Hendrick Cornelisz. van Vliet

Delft, 1611 - Delft, 1675

123. *Interior of the Pieterskerk in Leiden* (SN 288)

Oil on canvas;

54 3/4 x 55 (139.1 x 139.7 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: Signed and dated by the artist at the base of the column, lower right: "H. van Vliet 1653"

Provenance: H.R. Hughes, Kimmel, 1850-1880;
Lt. Col. H.B.L. Hughes;
Sotheby's sale, July 3, 1929, no. 97;
Newton, art dealer;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: Suida, no. 288 as *Interior of the Gothic Cathedral of Delft*.

Exhibitions: Dallas, **Dallas Museum of Art**,
The Art That Broke the Looking Glass, Nov.-Dec., 1961.

This important painting is one of the largest and most impressive views of church interiors by Hendrick van Vliet, a major figure in the Delft school of architectural painters. Because of its late Gothic churches, and because William the Silent, the great leader of the war against the Spanish, was buried in one of them, Delft became a center for the production of generally small views of such buildings, usually seen across the nave, with a series of columns dominating the composition. These works are, thus, different from the magnificent church interiors of the Utrecht painter Pieter Saenredam, in which the nave or a vault is often emphasized. The Delft architectural painters, with their fascination with space in itself, *tromp l'oeil* illusionism, and perhaps optical devices, form an important background for the truly great achievements of Jan Vermeer and Pieter de Hooch in Delft in the fifties and sixties.

The present painting is a view across a side aisle in the Pieterskerk in Leiden, also a late Gothic church. There are at least five paintings closely related to the Ringling canvas; the most important of these is a panel in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, dated just a year earlier, 1652. In the Braunschweig work, the artist has changed the figures slightly, added a large plaque to the truncated engaged column on the left (a surviving element in the church), and inserted an illusionistic green curtain on the right, over the arched frame. Walter Liedtke (letter, February 28, 1979) has pointed out the fact that the painting differs in the triforium, which in the Braunschweig work is borrowed from the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft. Other closely related views, with minor variations in the framing devices and staffage figures, are in the collection of W. Duschnitz, Vienna; M. van Gelder, Ukkel; sale, Wesendonck-von Brissing, Cologne, 27-11-1935, no. 130; and Brockhaus, Leipzig (in actuality, the Oude Kerk in Delft in this case).

The iconography of the Braunschweig painting has been admirably set forth elsewhere (*Die Sprache der Bilder*, exhibition catalogue, Braunschweig, 1978, pp. 170-172), and the overtones of immortality and death are present in the Ringling work also. Indeed, as Liedtke points out, they are emphasized here with the addition of the tomb on the right. The children playing, the pissing dog, and the minister talking with the gravedigger form an intimate counterpoint of human detail against the monumental space and long shafts of light that dominate the composition as a whole.

The condition of the Ringling work is not good; along the right edge and in the upper half of the canvas, the paint has been heavily restored or is especially thin, with much underpainting visible.

F.W.R.

123a. Detail of signature



123b. Detail





Attributed to **Adriaen van der Werff**
Rotterdam, 1659 - Rotterdam, 1722

124. *The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* (SN 373)

Oil on canvas;
62½ x 82 (158.7 x 208.3 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None
Provenance: John Ringling
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 373 as French Painter about 1700.
Exhibitions: None

Like many other Dutch artists at the end of the seventeenth century, Adriaen van der Werff was divided between respect for traditional Dutch values of realism and fascination for French history painting, particularly Poussin. The Ringling *Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* combines these elements plus inspiration from Rubens' *Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau*, in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. The kneeling woman holding the baby is directly related to the same figure in Munich. The Ringling painting is a complex interweaving of figures, animals and landscape organized like a French history painting to express the literary content of the Biblical scene at the highest point of dramatic intensity. The fine rendering of drapery, particularly on the young men at the left, is typical of van der Werff and reflects his study of the "feinmalerei" techniques of van der Neer, Netscher and van Mieris whom he admired. The women's faces and hairstyles are also quite typical of van der Werff's classicizing tendencies. The reclining child next to the sheep should be compared with a van der Werff drawing of a nude child from the Fodor Museum, Amsterdam, no. 256.

W.H.W.



Imitator of **Adriaen van der Werff**
Rotterdam, 1659 - Rotterdam, 1722

125. *King Candaules Shows Gyges His Wife Queen Nyssia* (SN 384)

Oil on canvas;
33 x 26¼ (83.8 x 67.9 cm.)

J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: W. Taylor;

Christie's sale, London, July 8, 1929, no. 78;

John Ringling.

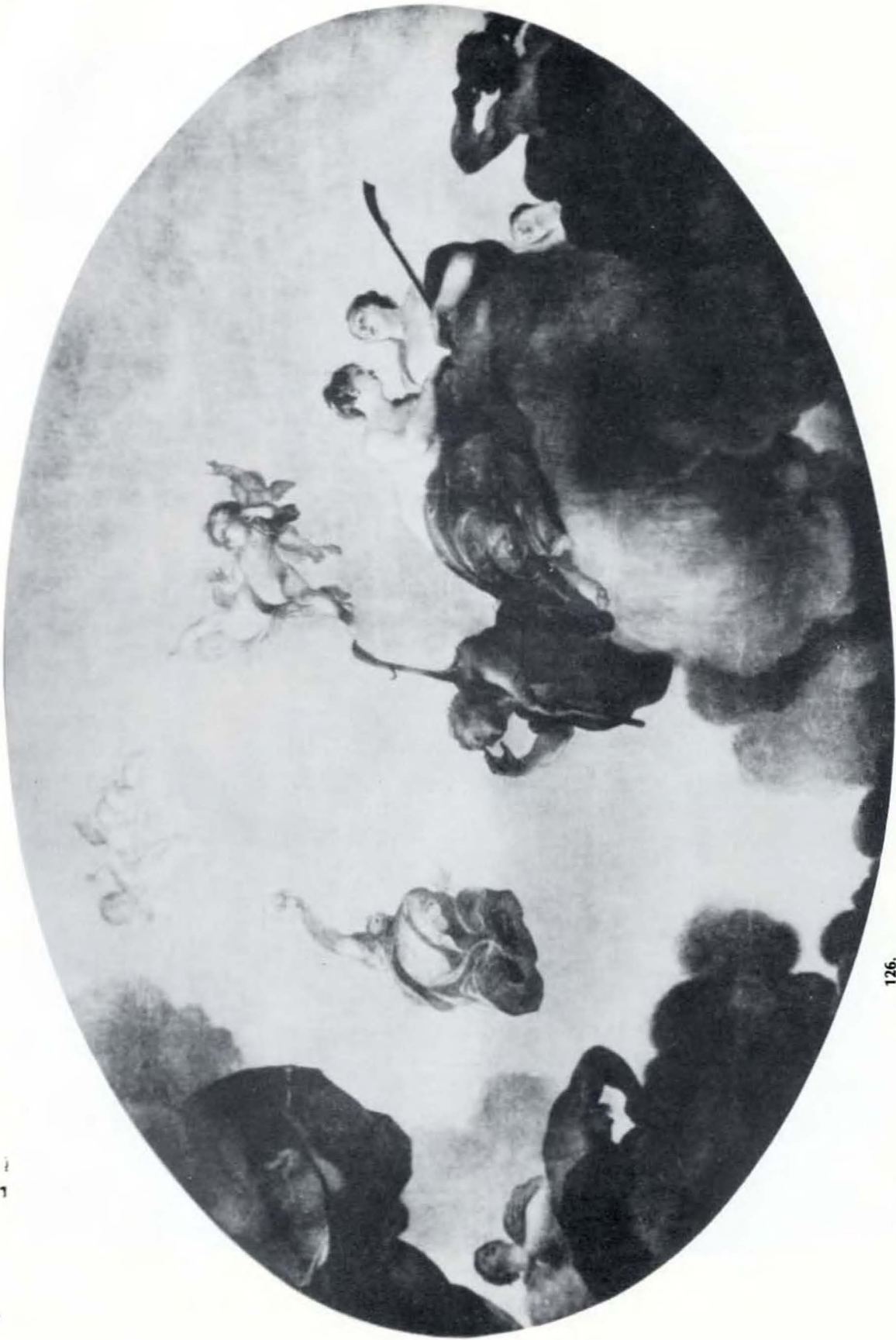
Bibliography: **Suida**, no. 384

as French Painter of the Late XVIII Century

noting a former attribution to Eustache Le Sueur.

Exhibitions: None

This work has been considered an imitation probably from the eighteenth century, of the highly popular court painter Adriaen van der Werff; the story, as erotic in content as Adriaen's nudes are stylistically, seems not to have been painted by the artist in an extant work. However, it does appear in Dutch art, for example, in a small painting by Frans van Mieris the Elder, art market (Speelman), London.
F.W.R.



Jacob de Wit

Amsterdam, 1695 - Amsterdam, 1754

126. *Dawn Driving Away the Darkness* (SN 975)

Oil on canvas;
oval, 127 x 159 (322.5 x 403.7 cm.)
J.R., 1936

Inscriptions: None

Provenance: Muller sale, Amsterdam, April 25, 1906, no. 168,
together with the other nine works from Nieuwe Gracht
74, Haarlem;
Léon Cardon, Brussels, who also possessed
the oil sketch for the Ringling ceiling;
John Ringling.

Bibliography: **A. Staring,**
Jacob de Wit 1695-1754,
Amsterdam, 1958, pp. 79, 149, 189.

Exhibitions: None

This ceiling piece is by Jacob de Wit, the most important Dutch painter of mythological and Biblical subjects in the early eighteenth century; it is one of the few large works from one of his famous decorative ensembles to be preserved outside of the Netherlands and is surely one of the most important eighteenth century Dutch paintings in this country.

The work was commissioned by Willem Philips Kops in 1735, for the ceiling of one of the rooms in the splendid house he had bought in 1724, at Nieuwe Gracht 74, in Haarlem; the Nieuwe Gracht was a wide, handsome new canal created during the extension of Haarlem to the North in 1686-1689. Between 1724 and 1752, Kops received from De Wit no less than ten works for this house. All ten works were sold in 1906 (see Provenance), and a visit to Nieuwe Gracht 74 confirms that the interior has been totally remodeled in the twentieth century. The Ringling painting is imbued with the early eighteenth century world of shepherds and nymphs among clouds that characterized the work of De Wit and his contemporaries throughout Europe, so ably discussed by A. Staring in his standard monograph on the artist (*Jacob de Wit 1695-1754*, Amsterdam, 1958). Until now, the whereabouts of the ceiling piece itself has been unknown, and Staring had reproduced only the oil

sketch for it, signed and dated 1735, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels (Staring, fig. 43).

As Staring demonstrates, the middle thirties were a particularly important and prolific period for De Wit; perhaps his most magnificent domestic ensemble, at Herengracht 168, Amsterdam, was completed in 1734 with Isaac de Moucheron, in the same year he decorated the Mozes en Aäronkerk, Amsterdam, and in 1736/37 he painted his masterpiece, showing Moses and the seventy elders receiving divine inspiration, in the Amsterdam City Hall.

Although the Ringling ceiling piece is difficult to examine *in situ*, it is, nonetheless, clear that the painting has been badly abraded throughout and has suffered extensive paint losses around the edges. The photograph of the work in the 1906 auction catalogue shows more detail and subtler contrasts of light and shadow, which are, after all, part of the subject of the work. The oil sketch in Brussels shows a frame around the composition of an oval and a rectangle together; at this point, it is impossible to determine whether this was the final solution for the project.

This painting by De Wit, and the large decorative ensemble by Dionys van Nijmegen, make the Ringling Museum particularly rich in eighteenth century Dutch art. F.W.R.

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